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Geography of the Vine and Olive Colony

By HAMNER COBBS

WHEN NAPOLEON BONAPARTE fled the field of Waterloo in June, 1815, he took with him the hopes, indeed the life, of the new French aristocracy which had held the nation in its grip, except for a brief lapse, for twenty years.¹ It was a strange aristocracy, born of a passion for "liberty, equality and fraternity," but maintained by the brandishing of the sword.

This time, however, it was on St. Helena in the South Atlantic and not on the Isle of Elba. There would not be another Hundred Days for Napoleon and those close to him soon found themselves in a precarious position. They faced disgrace and possible death. The Bourbons were back in power, and they proceeded to proscribe those military leaders who rushed back to Bonaparte as he marched up from Cannes. The first of these proscriptions came from Louis XVIII in June, just a few days after Waterloo; the second came in July, as the list lengthened. These military leaders were ordered to the interior of France, at designated points, to be kept under surveillance.

Louis XVIII was one Bourbon who had learned. He became convinced that it would be to his interest to extenuate the faults of the offenders, and his party actually tried to provide money and means for the Bonapartists to escape. Some

¹ This paper was read at the annual meeting of the Alabama Historical Association, Selma, April 23, 1960.

of them, because of honor, refused to flee. Marshal Ney, despite his fantastic reversal in loyalties, stood his ground—and he died before a firing squad. Alarmed by this event of December, 1815, hundreds of the others packed their belongings and crossed the Atlantic.

Marshal Grouchy may have been late at Waterloo, but he lost no time in getting to America. Joseph Lakanal, with the stigma of a regicide hanging over his head, was one of the first to leave. Others followed—the L'Allemand brothers, Nicholas Raoul, Charles Villar and Le Febre Desnouettes—marshals, generals, colonels, and captains—the flower of Napoleon's army. Desnouettes had ridden in the sleigh with Napoleon on his dismal retreat from Moscow; prior to Elba it was Desnouettes whom the Emperor embraced. Raoul had led the advance guard as the troops left the coast for Paris during the Hundred Days; J. J. Cluis had served as Napoleon's guard over King Ferdinand of Spain.

In America these refugees centered their activities around Philadelphia, to be near Joseph Bonaparte, who had been advised to live in the strategic area between New York and Philadelphia—and there the plans for a French colony were worked out.

Various sites were considered along the Ohio. Lakanal even bought a place in Kentucky, and became friendly with Henry Clay, in testing that state. The Canadian border, near other Frenchmen, was considered. The territory beyond the Mississippi came up for study. They wished, however, to locate between the 32nd and 36th Parallels, and finally they settled upon that newly opened region in the Mississippi Territory, near the confluence of the Black Warrior and the Tombigbee rivers. They would be near the French influence of Mobile, and not too far from New Orleans. Best of all, they would be far enough south to grow grapes and olives, which desire had become established, even before some of the emigrants had left France, as the ultimate goal.

On March 3, 1817 Congress passed a bill agreeing to sell the French exiles four townships of land—each six miles square. This meant 92,160 acres of land, and payment was to be made in full by the end of fourteen years. It was to be a communal affair, with title not to pass from the United States government until all the settlers had fulfilled their individual contracts. The patents limited 480 acres for any individual.

In addition to the Napoleonic refugees, there were in and near Philadelphia a number of French from the West Indies, most of whom had fled from Santo Domingo before the wrath of Touissant. Some of these joined with the Bonapartists in the Alabama venture as original shareholders.

Hardly more than a month after Congress had approved the four townships, a large body of the exiles sailed from Philadelphia on the schooner *McDonough*, carrying with them vine plantings and young olive trees. After 21 days they reached Mobile, but only after a narrow escape from disaster as the schooner went aground in the bay. The immigrants were greeted with enthusiasm in Mobile and entertained lavishly. Soon, however, they left on their trip up the river. They stopped at Fort Stoddard and then at St. Stephens, the head of ship navigation on the Tombigbee. It was a booming young settlement of fifty houses and twenty stores, where inflation had sent wages of hodmen up to \$2.00 a day.

At St. Stephens the French left the revenue cutter which had been lent them by Mobilians, and resumed their journey in barges. It was a slow, tortuous trip up the Tombigbee, with frequent shoals. The travelers poled, cordelled, and bush-whacked their way up the river. At last they reached the White Bluff, the high limestone cliff on the east bank of the Tombigbee, just below its confluence with the Warrior. (Not for another year was the first steamboat, the *Alabama*, to reach Demopolis, not for four years was the *Cotton Plant* to get as far north as Tuscaloosa.) At the White Bluff most of the French disembarked. Others proceeded up the Tombigbee

to confer with the Choctaw Indian factor, George Strother Gaines, but he advised them to return to the bluff. And there, on White Bluff, the present site of Demopolis, the immigrants settled. Meanwhile, other Frenchmen came overland to join their compatriots in the "City of the People," as the settlers had named their town.

Although the government had agreed to the general location of the French settlement, the land actually had not been surveyed beyond the 32nd Parallel, near St. Stephens. This Charles Villar, the French agent who had succeeded William Lee, soon learned. Undaunted, the newcomers planted their Bonapartist banners on the White Bluff and proceeded in an attempt to carve a new French empire out of the Alabama wilderness. Never at any time did they lose sight of their Emperor, restless on St. Helena. They cast about for other French names. The county became Marengo, for the great French victory over the Austrians. Other settlements received French names—Linden and Arcola. Desnouettes soon became the acknowledged leader of the exiles.

There were hardships, especially that first winter, but the French managed to build suitable homes, with logs and puncheon floors. They displayed their French relics and they grappled with the soil. When the first olive trees, imported unseasonally, failed to live, they sent to France for more. The grapes did a little better.

During 1818—a year known by the old-timers as "eighteen-hundred-and-starve to death"—the survey north from St. Stephens was completed as Alabama, filling up with settlers from the East and North, moved rapidly toward statehood. The survey was on file before January 9, 1819, when Charles Villar, as agent for the colony, entered into a contract with William H. Crawford, secretary of the treasury, for the four specific townships. This contract had elaborate provisions, the principal of which was that the land, which had brought \$2.00 an acre, should be paid for in its entirety in fourteen

years, or by January, 1833. There must be cultivated within seven years at least ten acres for each quarter section; in the same period there must be one acre per quarter section in vines, and by the end of the seven years, there must not be less than 500 olive trees.

The four specific townships were Township 18, Range 3 East, and Townships 18, 19, and 20, Range 4 East on the St. Stephens survey.

Demopolis, settled with so much difficulty and yet with high hopes, was not in the actual grant. It was specified that the émigrés must accept the grants allotted to them in Philadelphia, and this meant an abandonment of their Demopolis homes. Crude even though were these homes, this was a hard blow.

The French moved their settlement from the banks of the Tombigbee to the edge of the Warrior, just a mile to the east, and looked out across the canebrake at their newly allotted farmlands. Actually, each settler had three pieces of property—the first, a small town lot, in Eagleville; the second, a garden lot on the outskirts of the town (known later as the “small allotment”) which ranged in size from three to twelve acres, being based on the size of the large allotment; and the third, the actual farms, which did not exceed 480 acres. Some were for 320 acres, some for 240 acres, some for 160, and a few even smaller.

Old maps show that the actual grant was in the form of an inverted L. It lay in two counties, Greene and Marengo, fairly evenly divided. It stretched twelve miles along its southern border and eighteen miles to the north, six miles across the top of the grant, twelve southward, six westward, and six back to the point of beginning. All the lands were allotted in each of the three eastern townships with the exception of a few small reserves, usually of forty acres. In the other township, which contained the town of Eagleville, four sections were reserved, straddling the Warrior River. It was on this

land that the French had their small allotments, surrounding the town.

When the American frontiersmen learned that the site of Demopolis was illegally held, they rushed in. In the meantime, the French had made a new start at Eagleville, erecting their homes and laying out garden plots. It was doubtless in this section that the olive trees were mostly planted. When they finally got their lands, the French found that they had to face numerous squatters, but in every contest they won. There had been some discontent, in various parts of the country, over the government's action in letting these "foreigners" have this rich land at such low prices. Thus arose the conflict between the French and the native settlers.

Desnouettes journeyed to Washington, in the hope of convincing the government that the French should keep their Demopolis homes. He failed, but he did succeed in one thing. He had his own grant moved from the farthest township to the very edge of Eagleville. Cadet Bergache and Pierre Gallard, who had drawn the allotments, found themselves relegated to an outpost. There is no evidence that any of the other allotments were exchanged.

The original grant was divided almost evenly between Greene and Marengo counties. In 1867 Hale County was created, a greater part coming from the portion of Greene lying to the east of the Warrior River. There were also parts of Tuscaloosa and Perry used in forming it, but the next largest area came from Marengo. All of Township 18, Range 4 East, was given to Hale and the upper half of Township 18, Range 3 East lying east of the Warrior. Thus, Arcola went to Hale, while old Eagleville remained in Marengo. The three eastern townships, Nos. 18, 19, and 20, Range 4 East, are now entirely in Hale. Of Township 18, Range 3 East, a little more than one-third now falls in Hale, which, in all, claims approximately 77,520 acres, or more than 85 per cent of the original grant. Only one small tract, or approximately 3,520

acres lies in old Greene. The remainder, or approximately 11,120 acres, is in Marengo.

In relation to modern towns and highways, the lower part of the grant was in the very finest part of the fabulous Black Belt, known then and now as the Canebrake. Today, Highway 80 between Demopolis and Faunsdale forms the southern limits of the grant. It extended across the Black Warrior into Greene County, but at no point did it touch the Tombigbee. Along its western edge it ran almost parallel with the Warrior River, and reached its northwest corner at the present town of Sawyerville. Its northeastern corner was in the hilly country a few miles northwest of Greensboro, and then it extended eighteen miles to the south, passing within a mile of Greensboro, and it cornered on the present Marengo-Hale line. State highway 69 enters the grant about three miles southwest of Greensboro, and then it runs through the heart of it past Cedarville to the present community of Prairieville. Highway 14 to Eutaw slices through the northern township.

About four-fifths of the grant was located in the Black Belt prairie section, or in the adjacent river-bottom lands near the Warrior, while the remaining one-fifth was located in the sandy and hilly lands in the middle part of Hale County. This location is important in that, despite its fertility, the soil figured in a large measure in the failure of the colony.

There were so many factors contributing to the failure of the Vine and Olive Colony that it would be impossible to point to any one, two, or three. The human factor and the forces of nature both played major and complicated roles.

It is plausible to say that many of the French never expected or wanted it to succeed. They were not colonists, but military adventurers, using this as a mere interlude before getting back to the wars. Figuratively, it was a treading of water before they could swim to St. Helena and free Napoleon. They had grandiose ideas of a new Mexican Empire, and when part of them went westward to the Trinity

River in Texas, this was in their minds. A great many of the officers had no idea of accepting defeat, by submitting to a meagre agrarian civilization. The L'Allemand brothers were leaders in this military movement.

There were several points of disintegration. The first occurred when the French had to leave Demopolis for Eagleville. The second occurred with the death of Napoleon in May, 1821. From this point, many of the French, especially those who had been high officers, began ingratiating themselves with the Bourbons in order to win amnesty and a safe return to France; they were awakened rather rudely from the dream of a new empire under Napoleon by his death.

Few of the French exiles were suited to the rigors of frontier life. They plowed in fine military uniforms—it is said that some of the ladies even wore their Parisian evening gowns as they milked cows. They were unprepared either by training or inclination for an existence this rough. Colonel Nicholas Raoul, who had led the troops up from the coast after Bonaparte landed from Elba, was reduced to running a ferry at the mouth of French Creek. Helping him in the task was his wife, the former marchioness of Sinibaldi, who had been lady-in-waiting to Queen Caroline of Naples, Napoleon's sister. There were many other stories of privation.

Labor was a factor in the failure. Many of the exiles had spent their money or swapped their possessions in building their Demopolis homes, and they were thus sorely handicapped when they had to move to Eagleville. Desnouettes, whose rich wife remained in Belgium, brought in a group of German redemptioners, but they proved more of a hindrance than a help. It is said that the ideals of the French Revolution made slavery revolting to the exiles, and that there were no slaves. This was a mistake. The very first page of the first deed record book in Greene County reveals a dissolution agreement between Gaspard Bonnet and Dame Augustine Figuery, late of France. This paper, written in June, 1820,

lists eight slaves owned by Dame Augustine as she prepared to move them to her French grant. It is also of interest to know that she owned one-half interest in the barge, *Dame of Eagleville*, then anchored in Mobile harbor. This was doubtless one of the early barges used by the French settlers in bringing supplies to the colony. Even though slave-holding might not have been widespread, there were other instances. Blakanal, who voted for the death of Louis XVI in the National Assembly and was known on two continents as a rabid Republican, held slaves when he lived on Mobile Bay. He never occupied his Black Belt grant.

The type of soil was another major factor in the failure. Almost four-fifths of the grant lay in the Black Belt, and most of this fertile region was in the Canebrake. The Canebrake centered around the present town of Prairieville, but it also extended from Uniontown to Dayton to Demopolis, and then north to Greensboro. When cleared and brought into cultivation, it was the richest part of Alabama. In 1859 the Black Belt paid two-thirds of the state's taxes. The French, however, were without good labor, and they failed miserably. This was a country of great hardwood and cedar forests, broken by stretches of prairie where the cane flourished; there were few pines except in the northernmost part, and the planter with his slaves had no trouble in putting the land to the plow. Within a dozen years after the French Colony began to disintegrate, the phrase "from the Canebrake" became a label of wealth and gentility, as the planters and their families made their way to Demopolis, and thence down the river to Mobile. In the early days, before the country was fully cleared, there were narrow paths through the towering cane, and horns were blown at sundown to guide the Negroes with the cows through the dense growth.

When DeSoto came through the Canebrake in 1540 and moved northward along the east bank of the Tombigbee and Warrior rivers, before crossing near old Erie—a territory later

embraced in the French Colony—he found the prairie country almost devoid of Indians. There were settlements along the river flatlands and up the creeks, but not in the canebrake or the prairie. The principal reason for this was the difficulty of cultivating the soil. The Indian had only his stone hoe, and the heavy clay would not yield to his crude tools; he had to raise his maize and his vegetables on the lighter sandy soil.

By the same token, there was a water problem. The major creeks crossing the grant are Big and Little Prairie, Cottonwood, French, German, Limestone, and Hines. Except for Limestone and Hines, which come out of the sandy hills, these creeks often dry up in the late summer and early fall. The settlers had to depend largely on cisterns and rain barrels. There were then no springs, except in the immediate vicinity of the river, and out of this grew a grave health problem. John Witherspoon DuBose has written that in 1840 John C. Calhoun visited St. Michael's Parish, where, with his sons, he had bought a plantation, Tulip Hill, and that at a gathering of neighbors he astonished them with the statement that the Black Belt actually was the most beautifully watered land in America. He explained that below the lime rock there were streams of fresh, pure water, available to them for the mere tapping. (It seems likely that about this time Dr. Robert W. Withers succeeded in boring the first overflowing wells in this region—and in it he used a French technique imported from Artois. The great Pickens-Goodrum Wells, now a part of the State Cattle Ranch, are in the old grant. They were bored in the 1850's by slave labor using oxen, and they still pour forth a mighty stream.)

Finally, and of tremendous importance, the French had the wrong crops in mind; they were trying to grow olives and grapes, neither of which is suited to the area. The Black Belt, despite its rich soil, is inhospitable to many plants. For instance, the *Camellia japonica*, suited to the soil both to the north and the south, does not grow satisfactorily in the

prairie. The French struggled in vain with the olive, and they tried their best to fulfill their contracts, but they never had a remote chance. The soil is too rich, the climate too severe. The olives would grow in the spring and summer, only to be killed back to the ground in the winter. Certainly, within two or three years after they came to Alabama, the French must have realized that the olive would never do, but even as late as 1828 they were still struggling.

The story of the vine was the same. While the grapes did better than the olives, they matured in the late summer, while it is still extremely hot. At that time conditions for making wine are poor. It has been said often that, had the northern township been occupied first, the story might have been different, for there in the sandyland the wild grape grows in profusion. At best, this is a mere conjecture.

Actually, the French Colony really never had a chance. It failed because of the human factor, and joining in the conspiracy were all the forces of nature—the soil, the climate, and even the waters.

Indeed, after 125 years, there is little evidence that the French ever occupied the four townships.

As we have seen, some of the colonists followed the L'Allemand brothers into the Texas disaster. As Louis XVIII grew more lenient, some of them returned under Charles X. Then, virtually all of them found the gates of France opened to them, when Louis Philippe came to the throne in 1830.

Desnouettes, on his way back home to his wealthy wife, was drowned off the Irish coast in 1823. Colonel Raoul, the ferryman, found himself forgiven, and he later became governor of Toulon. Raoul and his wife often told visitors of their hardships on French Creek. Marshal Grouchy went back into the French Army, his mistakes at Waterloo forgiven. Even the regicide Lakanal gave up his plantation on Mobile Bay to return in 1837—he died in his beloved France in 1843, an old man of more than eighty years. Jean A. Pen-

niers, another regicide, remained around Eagleville for a few years, and then went to Florida as an agent to the Seminole Indians.

In 1822 Congress had made its third major move in behalf of the French by releasing the émigrés from the necessity of settling the entire grant and paying for it in full by 1833. Under this act the grantees or their assigns were to be given title when the individual payments were made. There is good ground to believe that, had this course been followed from the start, the colony would have been successful. As late as 1828 Frederick Ravesies, who had succeeded Villar as agent, was giving encouraging reports, telling how the vines were then being planted in the cotton fields, and cultivated.

It was not long, however, before the original purpose of the colony was all but abandoned. There were no olives and few grapes. The life of the colony encompassed not more than a dozen years.

There were some, however, who adapted themselves to cotton. John Chapron had a large plantation in the Canebrake. When he entertained General George Whitfield, on a visit to his brother, General Nathan Whitfield, sixty dishes were served at a dinner, including home-cured ham baked in champagne. D. F. Perret had a cotton plantation near the river and the Stollenwercks became planters.

There were others who moved into cotton and, although the vine and the olive had faded out of the picture before 1830, there were still a number of the French on the land. In the early 1830's there was a campaign to clear up the titles on the various grants, and today literally scores of deeds, listing the Bonapartists, are on record in both Eutaw and Linden. A few of them are even recorded in French. Sometimes the property passed on to a native American; often, to another Frenchman.

Few physical evidences were left behind by the French. The place names remain. Demopolis and Linden are flourishing

towns. Marengo is one of Alabama's oldest counties. Arcola still exists but Eagleville has disappeared.

Strangely enough, the greatest evidence may be found in the northernmost township. Six miles west of Greensboro there is a tract still known as the French Woods. Nearby is an old landmark known, at least up to a few years ago, as the French pear tree. This was all near Desnouettes' original grant. Just east of French Woods there is an old burial ground, obviously a large one. Only two of the graves, however, bear inscriptions. One is of Peter Croudet, described as a native of France. He died at 28, on September 18, 1837. A five-year-old child, Joseph Gardnier, died a few days earlier, on September 11. The Gardniers were among the original grantees.

As for the houses, apparently all have disappeared. The Demopolis homes were mere huts. Those of Eagleville were not much better, but we do know that the Desnouettes home, located not far from the present cement plant on the Warrior, was still standing as late as 1842. There is one old home on the Bryars place, about six miles southwest of Greensboro, which may have been French. It definitely dates back to antebellum days, and it has a square chimney, of the type often seen in France, with openings into four rooms. There are no authenticated French homes in Demopolis, and no marked burials. A Demopolis street, however, is named for Desnouettes. In Greensboro proper, one of the old French homes still stands in a fine state of preservation. Now known as the Dorman House, it was built in 1821 by Thomas Noel, a Frenchman late from Santo Domingo. It was here that Eliza Hurtel married her cousin, John Hurtel, son of Peter Hyacinth Baptiste Hurtel, in 1821, while the house was yet under construction. In it are now a few of the relics which came with the French.

What did the French leave, by way of families? The Bonapartists were joined in Philadelphia by exiles from the West

Indies, and these West Indians definitely have left the greater imprint. In the first place, the native French went back to their beloved country, when they had a chance. Those from Santo Domingo had exiled themselves voluntarily from France many years earlier, and they saw no reason to go back. Then, too, these exiles from the West Indies were suited to our hot climate, and they understood the soil better than did the Bonapartists. Most of all, they did not bring with them the antagonism toward slavery held by the French, many of whom remembered vividly the days of Revolution itself, with its exalted demands for "liberty, equality and fraternity."

It is safe to say, then, that virtually all of the lasting human influence was exerted by the refugees from Santo Domingo, rather than those direct from France. In the South today there are still the Stollenwerck and the Bayol families. There are direct descendants of the Chaprons, the Ravesies, the Hurtels and the Noels—and all of these families, without exception, were listed as from the West Indies.

As for political influence, there was little. The French seemed to have abstained from any public activity, whether by choice or force. Leaders of English origin were chosen for the first constitutional convention, and as members of the early legislatures from both Greene and Marengo counties.

The finest relic of the Vine and Olive Colony may be found, of all things, in the form of hand painted wallpaper. Discovered many years ago in a chateau near Dijon, France, it tells the story of the Vine and Olive Colony, confusing the Texas settlement with that in Alabama. Obviously, the artist had never crossed the Atlantic—he showed palm trees growing in the streets of Eagleville. It is a theory, advanced here for the first time, that the French related the story of the Canebrake and that the artist confused these great canes with the palm tree. After all, the canes were so large that a single joint might hold a pint of water. Some years ago this wallpaper series was bought and is now on display at the State

Department of Archives and History in Montgomery. It was the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas W. Martin of Birmingham.

Aside from these few things, there is little visible evidence that the French once occupied acres which today are among the finest in Alabama. The vines have been gone for generations. There are those who say that old olive trees may still be found at Demopolis and Arcola, but the botanists insist that these are jujube trees. The rolling Canebrake is no longer in cotton. It is now a vast livestock country, filled with the finest beef and dairy herds. In 1840 a visitor wrote that in May the Black Belt was a place of "enchanted beauty." It is still a place of enchanted beauty, although the French discovered more than 125 years ago that there is a change, when the soil begins to crack in late summer, and another change when the rains begin to fall in early winter.

The greatest evidence of the French seems to be in the invisible, the intangible. It is in the way which the people live and in their attitudes. There is here the definite Gallic stamp. Thanks to the French influence, the Canebrake residents live just a bit easier than almost any other people in the South. There is less of the puritanical; even at this late date, the people are still known for their gaiety. There are no more morose races; there are no Bonapartists to parade their finery; the lavish balls are few and far between—but there still is imbued in the people the idea that life, at least in part, is to be lived today, and not saved for the hereafter.

John Forsyth

By LUTHER N. STEWARD, JR.

DURING THE tumultuous decades before the American Civil War John Forsyth of Mobile, Alabama played important roles in both state and national politics.¹ As owner and editor of the *Mobile Daily Register*, 1853-1877, as United States minister plenipotentiary to Mexico, 1856-1858, as a member of the Alabama House of Representatives, 1859-1860, and as mayor of Mobile, 1860-1861, he was a powerful force in molding Southern opinion on such vital issues as slavery, the "manifest destiny" of America's territorial expansion, and secession.² In so being, however, he inevitably fixed the limitations of his own usefulness as his country's foreign ambassador, for in John Forsyth, ardent States Rights Democrat, affairs of state and personal prejudices were inseparable.

John Forsyth, the son of John Forsyth, sometime attorney general and governor of Georgia, member of the United States Congress for fifteen years, minister to Spain, 1819-1822, and secretary of state, 1834-1841, under Presidents Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren, was born in Augusta, Georgia on October 31, 1812.³ At the age of twenty he was graduated from Princeton University and in 1834 was admitted to the

¹ This article is based on materials in the National Archives, Washington, D. C., and the libraries of the University of Alabama and Louisiana State University. The author expresses his indebtedness to John Forsyth and Mrs. Patrick of Mobile, Ala. in allowing the use of private papers and to Dr. Jane DeGrummond and Dr. John Preston Moore of Louisiana State University.

² During a centennial celebration in Forsyth's honor his career was memorialized in a brief biographical booklet by T. C. DeLeon, *Remembrance Book of Col. John Forsyth* (Mobile, 1913).

³ See *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1931), VI, 533-535, and Stephen F. Miller, *The Bench and Bar of Georgia* (Philadelphia, 1858), II, 13-17.

Georgia bar. Immediately, he moved to Columbus, Georgia and the following year to Mobile, where he was soon appointed United States attorney for the Southern District of Alabama.⁴

After the death of his father in 1841, Forsyth returned to Georgia where he married Miss Margaret Hull. He remained twelve years, practicing law and for two years editing the *Columbus Times*. In 1845, as a third lieutenant, he joined the Columbus Guards and, as first lieutenant and adjutant of the First Georgia Regiment, served in the Mexican War.⁵ After the conflict he returned to Columbus and was appointed postmaster and later president of the Columbus Gas and Light Association.⁶

In 1853, now a seasoned lawyer, editor, businessman, and planter, Forsyth returned to Mobile, where almost two decades before he had enjoyed prosperity and many warm friendships.

His first business venture in Mobile was the erection of a large lumber mill.⁷ However, when this enterprise was destroyed by fire, Forsyth purchased the *Mobile Daily Register* and at once placed himself in a strategic position to do political battle in the State of Alabama.⁸ The prospectus of the *Register* announced that ". . . the Democratic party of the country is the only party which has been left by the throes of political battle and the shocks of sectional fanaticism, with the least semblance of Nationality of feeling. All other parties appear to us to be denationalized, sectionalized

⁴ Thomas M. Owen, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography* (Chicago, 1921), III, 598; letter, John Forsyth, Jr., to Secretary of State John Forsyth, Nov. 18, 1835 (in John Forsyth Papers, Mobile, Ala.).

⁵ John H. Martin, *Columbus, Geo., From Its Selection as a "Trading Town" in 1827, to Its Partial Destruction by Wilson's Raid in 1865* (Columbus, 1874), 165.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 57-58.

⁷ Owen, III, 598.

⁸ Joel C. Dubose, *Sketches of Alabama History* (Philadelphia, 1904), 256.

or localized.”⁹ The *Register* was strictly a Southern press devoted to Southern institutions. Its competitor, the *Mobile Advertiser*, opposed Southern commercial conventions or movements in favor of Southern independence while the *Register* promoted opportunities to expose the “blackeyes” of Southern institutions and “. . . redeem the Southern land from the bondage of commercial and industrial dependence.”¹⁰ Forsyth’s blasts did nothing to arouse the people, nor did he stem the tide of economic neglect. Occasionally, he exercised his wit on New England soup-houses and other Northern imperfections.

Mobile and Havana, Cuba were related by trade, agricultural economies and planter societies. On both sides men were anxious to enjoy the fruits of political union. Cuba in the Union would add to the number of slave states and tilt the scales in favor of the South, threatening the equilibrium which grew more precarious daily. When there was popular unrest on the island in 1854 and 1855, certain groups determined to profit by it and their demands for a march into Cuba were supported in the columns of the *Register*. “The Cuban fruit,” Forsyth pointed out, “has grown rich and yellow in its golden maturity under the great events of the last twelve months. We believe the time has come to gather and house it.”¹¹ Cuban authorities threatened to free the slaves, if Southerners dared to interfere in Cuban affairs. Planters feared that repercussions would be felt in the South, if the Cuban slave suddenly became a freedman. Visualizing disaster, some planters went so far as to demand immediate

⁹ Sept. 14, 1854.

¹⁰ Jan. 18, 1855; Herbert Wender, “Southern Commercial Conventions, 1837-1859,” in *The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science* (Baltimore, 1930), XLVIII, 48.

¹¹ Dec. 3, 1854. The attempt to detach Cuba from Spain has been covered in C. Stanley Urban, “The Africanization of Cuba Scare, 1853-55,” *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXXVII, 29-45 (Feb., 1957); see also James M. Callahan, *Cuba and International Relations* (Baltimore, 1899), 257-297.

American possession and control of Cuba. In the midst of the clamor news of the Ostend Manifesto reached the United States, mollifying Southern opinion but creating a great deal of embarrassment in the North because of its frankness.¹² Soulé's Manifesto rocked the boat, threatening the balance of power at home with expansion abroad. Some Eastern sentiment favored the declaration but urged patience to avoid complications. "We want Cuba badly," gibed the *Register*, "—it is a rich prize—it makes one's mouth water to look at it; but caution, caution is the word (The gem is ours, but let us be wary that we do not wear it too soon, and for the honor and benefit of the South.)"¹³ Forsyth attacked President Franklin Pierce and Secretary of State William Marcy because of their apparent willingness to compromise Soulé's mission in the face of repeated assaults by the Northern press.¹⁴

Political favorites of the *Register* were John Anthony Winston and Stephen A. Douglas. Winston was backed in his successful race for the governorship of Alabama as a man of the people with known Southern Rights predilections. The rival *Daily Advertiser* characterized Winston as an antiquated foggy.¹⁵ Douglas was supported as the rising champion of Southern rights, one of the new leaders being singled out for what more and more looked like an approaching political storm. In the contests of 1850-1851 the States Rights party was defeated.¹⁶

Those factional contests taught Forsyth two important lessons—that the simplest and most practical verse of political scripture was party unity, and that the perils of party division

¹² See F. W. Chadwick, *The Relations of the United States and Spain* (New York, 1909), 262-267.

¹³ Mar. 14, 1855.

¹⁴ For Soulé's complication of national issues see Amos A. Ellinger, *The Mission of Pierre Soulé, 1853-1855* (New Haven, 1932), 379-412.

¹⁵ The *Advertiser*, edited by Willis G. Clark, was later merged with the *Register*; see below, n. 56, and Owen, III, 336.

¹⁶ See George F. Milton, *The Eve of Conflict* (Boston, 1934), 54-57.

increased as the issues became more crucial and heated. The *Register* stood for a reorganization of the Democratic party so as to incorporate all factions. Successive editorials advocated unity to save the Union, to preserve the South, to conserve constitutional principles. Creating dissension in the Democratic ranks, the Know Nothing party threatened to repeat the mistakes of the past and for the moment was regarded as unorganized and intolerant but dangerous.¹⁷ Through abuse Forsyth felt that prominence would accrue to a group undeserving of it and he adopted a watchful attitude. A year later, in 1855, three out of the four papers in Mobile had declared for the Know Nothings, leaving the *Register* to uphold the old line, but not for long because of a disagreement among the *Register's* partners in August. "We all saw that differences of opinion between Mr. Middleton and his partners gave to the enemies of this journal a pretext for charging upon it collusion and double dealing with an eye to its financial prosperity."¹⁸ Middleton was taken away by Know Nothingism; Forsyth remained as editor of the Democratic paper. Poor health forced him to leave his desk the same month for relaxation and a visit with friends in Georgia.

The following year Forsyth was a delegate from Alabama to the National Democratic Convention in Cincinnati, where he served on the committee to select permanent officers. Alabama went for Franklin Pierce until the fifteenth ballot, when it changed to Stephen A. Douglas.¹⁹ Strongest opposition to Douglas in Alabama came from the Know Nothings, against whom Forsyth had directed his editorial blows with disappointing results.

As an editorialist Forsyth was in touch with other arenas

¹⁷ An account of the rise of the Know Nothings is in Ray A. Billington, *The Protestant Crusade* (New York, 1938), 380-436.

¹⁸ Aug. 1, 1855.

¹⁹ *Official Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention* [Cincinnati, June 2-6, 1856] (Cincinnati, 1856).

of political unrest, especially those in Latin America. The desire to expand territorially into Central America, coupled with commercial considerations, kept the eyes of Southerners on every turn of events. For Forsyth, his observations and views on foreign policy were to find expression in Mexico. In 1855, the year before his appointment as minister, he took note of a current revolution in Mexico, pointing out in the *Register* that "... these successes in the North with Álvarez gaining strength in the South, make eminent (*sic*) another *hegira* of the hero of Tampico. . . . The Mexican nation presents an anomalous spectacle—a people too independent to be governed by a monarchical despotism, and yet possessed of too little intelligence to govern themselves."²⁰ His views soon became inflexible convictions. Forsyth remained an untiring and resolute Southerner and Democrat while others had bent with the winds of political fortune. For this he achieved recognition in the form of an appointment as minister to Mexico in 1856.

In the tempestuous years between the achievement of Mexican independence from Spain (1821) and the beginning of the American Civil War (1861), the United States ministers to Mexico were almost all Southerners whose personal political views, pro-slavery and expansionist in varying degrees, left their impressions on United States-Mexican relations. As a result, Mexicans had reason to fear their northern neighbors. And to many Americans Mexico appeared to be a poor land, potentially rich, awaiting only the enlightened, benevolent hand of a master, the United States of America.

By the 1850's the direction of American expansion had been revealed. Texas and other lands in the West, including California, had been joined to the United States. To many outspoken advocates of territorial expansion this growth was

²⁰ Aug. 15, 1855. For Álvarez's successes see Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of Mexico* (San Francisco, 1887), V, 646-659.

manifest destiny. What might have been simply an extension of boundaries, albeit by force, now became a vital and disrupting political issue of slave *versus* free territory, splitting the nation along geographical and psychological lines. Southerners eyed their Latin neighbors as possible allies in this struggle, especially the Mexican states, which by proximity seemed logical additions to slavocracy.²¹

On August 4, 1856 John Forsyth was commissioned minister to Mexico by President Pierce, replacing James Gadsden of South Carolina, and charged with the important but onerous mission of improving relations between the two nations. Twelve days later he received his letter of instructions from Secretary Marcy, who pointed out that United States-Mexican relations had considerably worsened and that Forsyth's task would be far from easy.²² Unwelcome as this information was, it was not new to Forsyth, an ardent student of Latin American affairs, who enjoyed the added advantage of being the son of a former Secretary of State and of having served in the Mexican War.²³

Forsyth arrived in Mexico in mid-October, presented his credentials to President Ignacio Comonfort and conferred with the minister of foreign relations, Senor de la Fuente, the following day.²⁴ "I took occasion," Forsyth wrote Secretary Marcy on October 25, "to declare to him my fixed purpose, scrupulously to abstain from mingling in Mexican party politics; but that my business was with the Government *de facto*. . . ." However, in less than a month, as a portent of his future expansionist behavior, Forsyth opened his ministry by dealings with both the unreconciled Mexican political

²¹ See Charles S. Sydnor, *The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848* (Baton Rouge, 1948).

²² Diplomatic Instructions of the Department of State: Mexico, 1801-1906, XVII (2), in National Archives, Washington. Unless otherwise indicated, all manuscripts cited are in this collection.

²³ DeLeon, n.p.; Martin, 165.

²⁴ Oct. 18, 1856, Despatches from Ministers to Mexico, 1823-1906, XX (1).

factions. On November 8 he wrote, "I am every day made sensible of a prevalent and growing sentiment among intelligent Mexicans, that without the intervention, aid or guarantee of the United States, in some form or other, a stable Government can never be secured to the people."²⁵

That Forsyth was an expansionist and a believer in manifest destiny was not novel. For years he had encouraged intervention in various Central American countries. As did many Southerners, he saw them as new states, enforcing the slave code. Indeed, he actually sought the views of the State Department, just in case he were approached by one or both of the Mexican party leaders. The State Department could not officially sanction his *sub rosa* activities, but President-elect James Buchanan appeared willing to use his impatient minister in his desires to annex new territory. As a result, Forsyth enthusiastically promoted the proposals of the new American party for an offensive and defensive alliance—in effect, an American protectorate. To aid this plan Forsyth introduced the alliance idea as a rumor, suggesting that a loan of several million dollars would stabilize the government and insure American interests.

Another of Minister Forsyth's ideas proposed the merger of several thousand United States soldiers into the Mexican Army in order to guarantee certain control and to teach North American frugality and respect for law. Forsyth reasoned that, when the Mexican political branches at last broke, the United States should be prepared to catch the falling fruit.²⁶ Believing that a note of incitement might move the State Department to act in harmony with his plans, he promptly communicated reports of the expected arrival of

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Nov. 8, 1856, XX (5).

²⁶ For the Roman Catholic Church's role in Mexican politics see Wilfrid H. Callcott, *Church and State in Mexico, 1822-1857* (Durham, 1926), 343. President Comonfort and the Reform movement are treated in Ralph Roeder, *Judrez and His Mexico* (New York, 1947), I, 108-117.

the British fleet off the Atlantic coast. This, he maintained, would thwart the American party's plan of an alliance and protectorate. Having once raised the specter of British imperialism to screen his own designs, Forsyth never saw fit to reconsider. He continued to look upon the English as the greatest barrier to American expansion.²⁷

In April, 1857 news of a force of filibusters invading Northwest Mexico from California further aggravated United States-Mexican relations.²⁸ The leader of the expedition, Henry A. Crabb, enjoyed associations with prominent families in the state, particularly the Ainza family with which he was connected by marriage. On April 1 the expedition, attacked by Mexicans near the town of Caborca, fought its way into the village where under continuous fire, having received promises of a trial and decent care, it surrendered. However, all of the invaders, except a boy of twelve years, Charles Evans, were executed without a trial and in a manner that offended Forsyth's sense of justice. Working through friendly agents and a nearby consul, Forsyth obtained the release of the boy and provided for his safe return to California. About the same time Mexican soldiers crossed into the Gadsden Purchase, killed four men and took Jesús Ainsa, a naturalized United States citizen, into Mexico where he was sentenced to six years imprisonment.²⁹ Until the time of his return home in 1858 Forsyth sought to obtain the release of Ainsa and restitution for the alleged injustices committed at Caborca.

²⁷ Forsyth to Marcy, Nov. 8, 1856, Despatches, XX (5).

²⁸ Forsyth to Marcy, Apr. 24, 1857, Despatches, XX (32); see Forsyth to Juan Antonio de la Fuente, May 30, 1857, Despatches XX (40); William O. Scroggs, *Filibusters and Financiers* (New York, 1916), 308-316; and Bancroft, II, 694-695.

²⁹ A Congressional investigation resulted from the episode. Its findings are recorded in U. S. 35 Cong., 1 Sess., *House Ex. Doc.* 64 (Feb. 16, 1858); see also H. D. Barrows, "Crabbe's [sic] Filibusters," *Historical Society of Southern California, Annual Publications*, VIII, 193 (1911); Rufus K. Wyllys, "Henry A. Crabb—A Tragedy of the Sonora Frontier," *Pacific Historical Review*, IX, 183-195 (June, 1940).

Local *caudillismo* and the perpetually shifting sands of political fortune made the ports on the Pacific coast of Mexico into sore spots for the consulates. No national government ever realized any central control and responsibility for the area. C. B. Smith, vice consul at Mazatlán, in defending his countrymen's rights, was jailed, fined and humiliated.³⁰ Cases of robbery, personal cruelty, unlawful taxation and other minor offenses against United States citizens were commonplace. Forsyth was furious, but he could do little or nothing other than to suggest that a man-of-war should look into Mexican ports along the Pacific coast from time to time.³¹

Although Forsyth continued to believe that "Nothing but a manifestation of the power of the Govt. of the U. S., and of it's purpose to punish these wrongs, will avail," the time for diplomatic overtures had arrived, when Lerdo de Tejada assumed the office of Mexican minister of foreign relations in November, 1856. Marcy believed that the Mexican tariff was unfavorable for trade and urged Forsyth to ". . . enforce his views on the subject." Later mention of the Canadian Reciprocity Agreement suggests that Marcy had it in mind as a model. The weak condition of the Mexican *Hacienda* made it desirable to confer rapidly. Forsyth pushed the negotiations. Five treaties were concluded on February 10, 1857 and, as Forsyth pointed out, ". . . money [was] at the bottom of the whole negotiation. . . ." Of all the treaties, that of the loan was most important, since the entire negotiation hinged on its ratification. Of the proposed \$15 million loan, \$3 million were retained to settle United States claims against Mexico, and \$4 million were set aside to be paid either directly to Mexico or to pay off the British Convention Debt. As Forsyth put it, "I have provided for the extinction of the . . . debt adopted by G. Britain, and the last and greatest lever

³⁰ Forsyth to Smith, July 20, 1857, Despatches XX (46), enclosure.

³¹ Forsyth to Marcy, Nov. 15, 1856, Despatches, XX (7).

of British political influence with this Govt." The agreement, originally designated Treaty of Commerce and Loan, was changed to Treaty of Loan and Anticipation of Duties in order to mitigate British objections.³²

On March 3 Marcy acknowledged receipt of the treaties. President Pierce objected to Article Six of the Bases of Negotiation which stipulated that all of the treaties must be accepted conjointly. This involved acceptance of the loan, a type of "Dollar Diplomacy" as yet strange to congressional leaders. The State Department urged caution and lectured on unhappy experiences in the past. In addition, Forsyth had accepted the umpirage of Indian depredations under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The United States considered that the Treaty of 1853 ended its responsibility and that the negotiations taking cognizance of the issue had put it in a position where it would rather reject the treaties.³³ When Pierce's term expired in March, 1857, he left open the door on the treaties. Speaking for him, Marcy pleaded that time had not allowed for their consideration before congressional adjournment, and there the matter rested until the inauguration of James Buchanan.³⁴

A major goal of the new administration was a settlement with Mexico of the national and private claims which had arisen over the proposed Tehuantepec canal route. New rights had been acquired by the United States under the Treaty of 1853, and while the nation had refrained from ex-

³² Marcy to Forsyth, Aug. 16, 1856, Instructions, XVII (2); Forsyth to Marcy, Feb. 2, 1857, Despatches, XX (23). In addition to the loan agreement there was a Reciprocity Treaty, a Postal Treaty, a Commercial Treaty, and a Claims Convention, all included under the title of General Convention.

³³ Marcy admitted that many of the claims made by citizens of the United States were illegitimate. Mexican counterclaims rested on alleged Indian depredations in northern Mexico. The prevention of such crimes reposed with the United States under the Treaty of 1848, but Marcy claimed that the Treaty of 1853 dissolved that responsibility (Marcy to Forsyth, Aug. 16, 1856, Instructions, XVII [2]).

³⁴ Marcy to Forsyth, Mar. 3, 1857, Instructions, XVII (11).

exploiting the route, it nevertheless desired immediate utilization of the privileges granted to private individuals by Mexico.³⁵ Forsyth wanted to avoid taking sides in the dispute unless otherwise instructed by the State Department. For a time he ignored mounting pressures and steered a neutral course.³⁶ Nevertheless, in the summer of 1857 he was charged with the unappetizing task of disentangling the snarl of litigation surrounding the Tehuantepec route.

Several claimants to Tehuantepec rights had arisen from the Mexican grants and private sales, 1842-1856: the Garay holders, A. G. Sloo & Company (Tehuantepec Company), Francisco de Palezieusce Falconnet, Peter Amadee Hargous, and the Louisiana Tehuantepec Company.³⁷ The last claimant, chartered in July, 1857, was headed by Emile la Serè and backed by such dignitaries as Judah P. Benjamin and John Slidell. It had succeeded A. G. Sloo & Company, after Sloo's direction demonstrated indifference to company interests. Sloo immediately contested the rights of the new company.

Representatives of the several claimants descended on Mexico City to counteract opposing claims and protect their interests. A. Bellange, agent for P. A. Hargous, fired the opening shot by seeking legation support and endorsement. In Washington, Slidell's influence with President Buchanan secured official approval for Benjamin and la Serè. Buchanan personally wrote the dispatch concerning their mission and entrusted it to Benjamin. Benjamin and la Serè embarked for Mexico in the summer of 1857 to effect a new agreement.

³⁵ Cass to Forsyth, July 17, 1857, Instructions, XVII (27).

³⁶ Forsyth to Marcy, Nov. 15, 1856, Despatches, XX (8).

³⁷ See J. M. Callahan, "The Mexican Policy of Southern Leaders Under Buchanan's Administration," *American Historical Association Annual Report for 1910* (Washington, 1912), 125-161; and J. F. Rippey, "Diplomacy of the U. S. and Mexico Regarding the Isthmus of Tehuantepec 1848-1860," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, VI, 505-532 (Mar., 1920).

Sloo's agent, Pierre Soulé, was aboard the same ship. Benjamin's overbearing personality so irritated Forsyth that he formed an immediate dislike for the man. Benjamin and la Serè accused Forsyth of giving Soulé's introduction to President Comonfort in the form of a eulogy and furnishing him such support as to prove detrimental to the projects of the Louisiana Company. Mindful of his ministerial rank, Forsyth took Benjamin's attitude and mission as an affront. Buchanan had gone over his head in bestowing the weight of his name and office on private persons whose negotiations came within the scope of Forsyth's official position. He was concerned with reports that Washington ". . . had no confidence in his abilities to fulfill the exigencies of his mission . . .," and he blamed his situation on the "American Negotiators."

Opportunism and private parleys so dominated the negotiations that Benjamin and la Serè did not seek Forsyth's counsel, nor did they keep him posted concerning developments. From what he had heard indirectly, the negotiations conflicted with Article Eight of the Gadsden Treaty in that they permitted transit of foreign troops across the isthmus only with the consent of Mexico. The issue was serious. As a military line of communication, the route held many possibilities for an aggressive, expanding nation. Forsyth explained to Comonfort that United States investors would shy away from the project unless assurances of proper protection were given. Secretary of State Lewis Cass was less concerned with troop movements and more concerned that equality of transit and tolls should be resolved. To spur Forsyth to greater effort, he wrote, "Should you succeed, this will be productive of great and enduring benefits to your country and entitle your name to be enrolled in the list of her most distinguished Diplomatsists." Forsyth understood his duty to be the protection of claims under the 1853 agreement and, if company business should conflict, it must yield to the national interests. He

acted in good faith in upholding the Treaty of 1853—he simply followed instructions. In other respects, and they are not too clear, personal animosities prevented co-operation between Forsyth and company officials. It was probable that Forsyth had planned to make such agreements with Mexican authorities as to draw the whole nation into the orbit of the United States. When the company's agreements failed to do this, Forsyth felt an opportunity had been missed. Once within this orbit, such matters as the Tehuantepec route, mail treaties, and reciprocity treaties could have been concluded as a matter of course.

The disappointing results of the Tehuantepec conference and the pettiness in personal behavior which had contributed to its outcome exposed Forsyth to official criticism from his superiors. While in Mexico Benjamin had taken time to note all of his "injuries" in a diary, in effect constructing a case against the Minister. One entry accused him of siding with the Sloo agent, Soulé. Indeed, Soulé had attempted to enlist Forsyth's support. Before he had embarked for Mexico, he had written a member of the Sloo faction in New Orleans that "The good dispositions of our minister may also be turned to advantage, by showing him that the views of the government, or Washington, can be as well promoted by an arrangement with us as by a compromise with the Hargous interest." There is no evidence, however, that Forsyth practiced collusion with any faction, but his personal views disposed him to favor the Sloo interest.³⁸

At the beginning of his administration Buchanan viewed the Mexican turmoil as an asset. A treaty for the cession of Lower California, Chihuahua, and Sonora was forwarded to

³⁸ See Cass to Forsyth, July 17, 1857, Instructions, XVII (27); Forsyth to Cass, Nov. 15, 24, 1857, Despatches, XXI (48, 57); and letter, Soulé to Needler R. Jennings, Whig politician and businessman of New Orleans, Mandeville, La., July 23, 1857, in J. Preston Moore (ed.), "Correspondence of Pierre Soulé: The Louisiana Tehuantepec Company," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXXIII, 60 (Feb., 1952).

guide Forsyth. Secretary Cass anticipated a rapid settlement of the region after cession, thereby removing the danger of Indian attacks. Convinced of the impossibility of acquiring new lands directly, Forsyth regarded a loan to Mexico as a species of floating mortgage upon the territory of a poor neighbor. However, he could not disregard the apparent misgivings which the State Department had concerning diplomatic concessions achieved by dollar persuasion. This attitude, Forsyth suspected, was due to Benjamin's influence. To circumvent his opposition at home and abroad Forsyth tried to open the way to indirect aggression through railroad concessions. Two routes were proposed; one, El Paso to San Diego, by way of the headwaters of the Hiaqui River; the other, a line extending to Fuerte del Norte following the Hiaqui River Valley to Guaymas. The proposed treaty, submitted to Washington on September 29, 1857, gave permission to construct a railroad from the Rio Grande to any point on the Pacific on a strip of land 300 feet wide with possession of each contiguous alternate league then unsettled along the route. Many extra-territorial rights were appended.³⁹ This menace to Mexican territorial integrity was dissolved in the heat of political issues at home.

In December, 1857 President Comonfort was re-inaugurated under the progressive Constitution of 1857. He took a middle-of-the-road stand, hesitating before extremes, unwilling to make decisions, demonstrating a lack of purposeful leadership. Nevertheless, two weeks after taking office, he consorted with General Felix Zuloaga in a *coup de'etat* which estranged public confidence and eventually led to his downfall and exile. Forsyth noted the perilously weak position of the Comonfort government. The *Pronunciados* (whom

³⁹ Cass to Forsyth, July 17, 1857, Instructions, XVII (28); Forsyth to Cass, Apr. 4, Sept. 29, 1857, Despatches, XX (29), XXI (52). The Hiaqui River is probably the Yaqui, which empties into the Gulf of California near Guaymas.

Forsyth termed plunderers under the name of religious reactionists) raided the countryside without hindrance. Forsyth felt certain that Comonfort would dispose of territory. It was a situation calling for a benevolent but strong leader, and Forsyth warned that, if a savior did not soon appear, a foreign master must provide leadership. He was aware that Comonfort was noticing proposals of foreign support and he was fearful that the United States would lose its vantage. Two months before, Comonfort had disclosed a Spanish offer of 25,000 troops and money to stabilize the government, presumably with the sanction of Great Britain and France. In a private letter to Cass, Forsyth petulantly suggested that ready money might open doors to suitable arrangements, perhaps the \$50 million that Benjamin had mentioned to Comonfort as a reasonable price for Sonora.⁴⁰ Before any action was taken, however, the Comonfort government ceased to exist.

Zuloaga seized executive power in January while Benito Juárez secretly left the city to defend his constitutional claim to the presidency. The Forsyth family moved to another residence because of fighting near their home. From all appearances the Zuloaga government was the *de facto* government. The new turn of events created several problems for the United States. Most important, should the Zuloaga administration be recognized? The Constitution of 1857 stated that revolution would not abrogate its power and, constitutionally, Juárez was president. Yet Juárez had not corresponded with the foreign ministers in well over a month and his forces were retreating to the north and toward Vera Cruz. Two days after the United States recognized Zuloaga, a note arrived at the legation from Melchor Ocampo, minister of *Gobernacion* in

⁴⁰ Forsyth to Cass, Sept. 26, Nov. 25, 1857, Jan. 14, 1858, Despatches, XXI (51, 58, 65). In a private letter enclosed with the last-named despatch Forsyth added that Comonfort had informed a mutual friend that he urgently needed \$600,000 to secure the services of 6,000 troops with which to pacify the country.

the Juárez government. Forsyth was upset—his country's recognition of Zuloaga had but a tenuous legality.

Favorable winds blew from the ocean of confusion that surrounded the new leaders. Forsyth sent bases for a renewal of negotiations to Luis Cuevas, the Conservative minister of foreign relations. "The President is gained . . .," he reported confidently to Cass, but "the Clergy is my main reliance. . . ."⁴¹ To spare their diminishing funds the Roman Catholic Church drew attention to other sources of revenue, especially to foreign loans. As Forsyth remarked, if he succeeded it would be due to the critical condition of the government. Even so, Mexican officials procrastinated, not daring to discuss seriously the sale of territory.

Important port cities, such as Vera Cruz, were firmly held by the *Juaristas*. Consequently, Zuloaga was deprived of a major source of revenue. To offset his disadvantage, tariffs were declared collectable at Mexico City, which burdened the importers with two duties. Objections from the commercial community and foreign officials were ignored and the duties were collected, forcibly if need be, regardless of nationality. In May, Zuloaga levied a special tax graduated according to the resources of those being taxed.⁴² Repayment of the "contributions" was transacted in shares in the Mexican National Bank. The forced loan provoked demonstrations. Several citizens of the United States were jailed for refusal to pay. As a consequence, Forsyth called a junta of the diplomatic corps, but concert was lacking and he was forced to proceed alone.⁴³ He urged his fellow countrymen to disregard the tax decree—an impetuous act that was destined seriously

⁴¹ Feb. 13, 1858, Despatches, XXI (68).

⁴² England had an agreement with Mexico to the effect that no such duties could be levied on her citizens. The United States had a treaty of equal rights with the most favored nation (see Forsyth to Luis G. Cuevas, May 22, 1858, Despatches, XXII [77], enclosure).

⁴³ Forsyth to Cass, June 1, 1858, Despatches, XXII (77).

to limit his official usefulness in Mexico: when collections from the new tax proved disappointing, Forsyth was blamed partly for the deficiency.

United States-Mexican relations had rankled to the breaking point. Forsyth was convinced that Cuevas, assisted by M. de Gabriac, the French minister, had plotted to draw him into a quarrel and demand his recall. On June 21 Forsyth wrote Cuevas for his passports. While relations were suspended, pending his departure and replacement, the legation files were set in order by Walker Fearn, Forsyth's able assistant. In July capital intrigue forced Lerdo de Tejada to take refuge in the United States legation. Forsyth mustered an "army" of twenty Americans, amply supplied with food and ammunition, and cocksurely proposed to defend the place against any enemies.⁴⁴ Nothing came of it and he and his family departed Mexico in October.

In 1859 President Buchanan summed up his administration's relationships with Mexico.⁴⁵ For the most part he followed Forsyth's line of reasoning, using many of the Minister's own words, words that unhesitatingly called for the employment of force. Buchanan had approved of Forsyth's removal, believing that the Mexican government would interpret it as serious and threatening, but it resulted only in continued decaying relations.

Return to the United States was, for Forsyth, as full of provocation as his Mexican venture. The *New York Times* was particularly vehement in its criticism of Buchanan's policy toward Mexico and especially of his Minister Forsyth. The paper declared his policy to be "erratic" and that "... the first and most startling novelty which introduced it, was the retention of Mr. Forsyth as Envoy, after he had, without authority, negotiated treaties without value, treaties only fit for

⁴⁴ Forsyth to Cass, June 17, Aug. 1, 1858, Despatches, XXII (78, 85).

⁴⁵ See Ticknor G. Curtis, *Life of James Buchanan* (New York, 1883), II, 215.

the official waste basket." The New York *Herald* attempted to cast discredit on Forsyth's conduct in Mexico. The Washington *Constitution* criticized him as irresponsible, subject to whims of expediency.⁴⁶

Shortly afterwards, Forsyth defended his Mexican policy in an open letter to the *Mobile Register* which included copies of his personal letters to Buchanan. To one paper, which had stated that he ". . . declared war against the Administration," Forsyth replied, "It would have spoken more accurately if it had said that in withdrawing my confidence from the Administration I had only imitated the example of the great body of the Democratic party. . . ." He queried: "Have I powerful enemies whose demands for my sacrifice you were unable to withstand? Have I inherited your dislike for my father? Or is it my school of Southern Right politics that is distasteful to you?"⁴⁷ In time Forsyth's antipathy for Buchanan subsided. Forsyth put no blame on him for supineness, but looked on his actions as those of party policy and responsibility. To make way for the elections of 1860, he had put aside his personal feelings.

At home the Fire-Eaters had been at work undermining Douglas' reputation, and in 1859 Pierre Soulé and Forsyth set to undoing the damage in their respective states. In Alabama, William Lowndes Yancey had decided that the Democratic party under Buchanan could not or would not protect Southern rights and had advocated reorganization. Conservative Democrats, such as Forsyth, believed that a strengthened Democratic party promised success. In the past Forsyth had been a follower of Yancey and quite vociferous himself on the subject of secession. Now, more reactionary, he plotted the defeat of the Yanceyites. On the matter of states' rights

⁴⁶ *Mobile Register*, July 24 (quoting *The New York Times*), Aug. 24, 1858 (quoting the *New York Herald*), and May 18, 1859.

⁴⁷ May 3, 1859.

Douglas had weakened his position by the "Freeport Doctrine," and Yancey's hand had been bolstered by repudiation of the Dred Scott Decision and the Fugitive Slave Law. Forsyth sought to reinstate Douglas in Southern esteem, assisted by Colonel John J. Seibels, founder of the *Confederation* in Montgomery.

Encouraged by support from other sections of the state, Forsyth decided to test his and Yancey's strength in the contest for the Alabama Senate. Yancey became so malicious in the campaign that a challenge to a duel was hinted. Taking the stump, Forsyth delivered fifteen speeches and through sheer effort instilled into his audiences the fervency that he felt for the Douglas program. Steadily increasing crowds turned out to put him at the head of the ticket in the strongest States Rights county in a supposedly solid "ultra-state." The victory was deceiving, a warning that the Fire-Eaters would not surrender without a real fight. Watching the politicians flirt with secession was sobering. Forsyth's contentious spirit was made for impaling his enemies on his pen; he could not consent to wielding the bayonet.

Douglas wrote an article for *Harper's Magazine* that was a minor sensation and increased his following in the South by endorsing non-intervention in the issue of slavery. In the meantime, Forsyth engineered a pamphlet campaign for Douglas in New York and Henry Hotze headed the *Register's* operations at home.⁴⁸ Following the Harpers Ferry incident, the South was uneasy with foreboding. Douglas was asked to come to Alabama to carry the truth to the people and ease tension. "The crazy politicians will wake up to their mistake or I am greatly mistaken in the temper of the Southern people," Forsyth assured his readers.⁴⁹ As a block to fence-straddlers and

⁴⁸ Henry Hotze was the same efficient propagandist sent to England in 1862 by the Confederate States of America.

⁴⁹ Milton, 396.

non-extremists, Alabama Fire-Eaters made an unofficial agreement with the delegates-at-large to the Democratic National Convention meeting in Charleston, to insure support for a Slave Code plank in the party platform. Otherwise, the Cincinnati platform would be adopted without change and Douglas named to run. At the state convention in January the decision to bolt was affirmed, if the Slave Code plank should fail at Charleston.

As a result of disharmony in the Charleston meeting, Forsyth, Bradley, Humphreys, Seibels, James Smith and Former Governor Winston met in Mobile on May 7 and decided to organize the "National Democracy of Alabama."⁵⁰ The counties sent delegates to a convention in Montgomery on June 4 and delegates to the Democratic National Convention in Baltimore were elected. There, when it was decided to seat the new delegations from Alabama and Louisiana, led respectively by Forsyth and Soulé, a second bolt occurred and the Democratic party was left divided to face the coming election.

Forsyth became the sole owner of the *Register* in 1859 and was elected to the Alabama House of Representatives. His platform stressed the need for party unity and cautioned against the disastrous consequences of party schism. The danger, he avowed, was not from without but from within, not from enemies but from misguided friends.⁵¹ He questioned the necessity of the new political association, the Yanceyite junto, which, he declared, had set up no new principles and served to promote factionalism.

As a member of the House of Representatives, Forsyth supported measures for state improvements, but he was first and foremost a representative of Mobile. When consideration of a bill to charter the Merchant's Bank of Mobile came up, he made note of the railroad attachment and pointed out that

⁵⁰ Clement Eaton, *A History of the Old South* (New York, 1949), 571.

⁵¹ *Register*, July 19, 1859.

it was a doubtful enterprise since the people would not put money into a crooked bank, a bank conceived by Montgomery to swell the coffers of that city at the expense of Mobile. "Sir, the proposition stripped of all disguises is this—wanted a fund to build a railroad from Montevallo to Montgomery—where to get it? Answer, from the biggest pile. Where's that? In Mobile. How? Mobile wants a big bank, make her pay one dollar to our road for every dollar of bank stock she is to be allowed to subscribe for." Inasmuch as Mobile held the trump, she should, he suggested, employ it for more immediate, permanent and remunerative benefits, such as removing a mud bar in Mobile Bay.⁵²

His devotion to local interests, his penchant for politics, and his ownership of a newspaper placed Forsyth enough in the public eye to insure his election as mayor of the city of Mobile in 1860. He had scant time to adjust to the office, however. With the nation poised on the brink of war, several Southern factions agreed on February 25, 1861 to appoint three peace commissioners to go to Washington to confer with President Abraham Lincoln or other high officials. Those appointed were André B. Roman of Louisiana, Martin J. Crawford of Georgia and John Forsyth of Alabama.⁵³ Each was a man of political experience. Roman had been governor of his state, Crawford a congressman for several years, and Forsyth a prominent journalist and former minister to Mexico. Roman had been a Whig and one of the Bell and Everett party in 1860. Crawford had backed Breckinridge as a States Rights Democrat. Forsyth had supported Douglas. With political sentiments covering the range of party affiliations in the

⁵² *Speech of Mr. Forsyth on the Bank Question* (n.p., n.d.). At one time he was selected to prepare a report on the subject of direct trade with Europe (*DeBow's Review*, XXVIII, 613 [May, 1860]).

⁵³ Jefferson Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (New York, 1881), I, 246; E. Merton Coulter, *The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge, 1950), 33.

recent election, there should have been in the commission every element necessary to conciliate Northern opinion. The object of the commissioners was to obtain recognition of the Confederacy, transfer of public property in the South, and peaceful negotiation on all other matters pending. The attack on Fort Sumter forestalled any compromise.

Returning to Mobile, on September 16, 1861 Mayor Forsyth addressed the Confederate Secretary of War, showing great concern for the safety of the city.⁵⁴ For a short time he served as a colonel and aide to General Braxton Bragg in Tennessee.⁵⁵ He was responsible for two ineffectual proclamations, one addressed "To the People of the Northwest" under Bragg's name at Bardstown, Kentucky on September 26, 1862, and the other, a "Proclamation of the South to the People of Kentucky," at Glasgow, Kentucky on September 14, 1862. When his talents were no longer required, he returned to be editor of the *Mobile Advertiser and Register*, the two papers having merged in 1861 under the ownership of W. G. Clark & Company, with Clark as publisher and Colonel Forsyth as editor.

When the war ended, Clark and Forsyth began an evening paper, the *Mobile News*. In 1867 Colonel William D. Mann, who had come to Mobile at the head of a Michigan regiment (but who was a Democrat in politics), first purchased an interest in the *Mobile Times* and then paid Clark and Forsyth \$40,000 for their *Advertiser and Register*. After the transaction the name of the *Register* was restored to the combined papers.⁵⁶ Forsyth remained as editor until his death.

Editing a Southern newspaper immediately following the

⁵⁴ *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), 1, VI, 739.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 1, XVI, 822-823; Stanley F. Horn, *The Army of Tennessee* (New York, 1941), 177-178; F. G. Forsyth, *Memorial of the De Forsyths de Fronsac* (Boston, 1897), 12-13.

⁵⁶ Erwin Craighead, *Mobile: Fact and Tradition* (Mobile, 1930), 174.

war introduced new problems. The *Register* was guided by a policy of reconciliation, founded on a firm sense of justice for the conquered people. All Southerners were urged to qualify themselves as voters: ". . . there is nothing in these requirements of the Government which any Southern man who means to remain in the United States should hesitate to accept."⁵⁷ Anticipating Radical moves, Forsyth sought to hurry Reconstruction before the Radical Republicans could marshal their forces. He trusted that the work would be finished by the first Monday of December, 1865 so that the Alabama congressmen could present their credentials. Encouraged by Matthew F. Maury, some Southerners were moving to Mexico to escape the ravages of "reconstruction."⁵⁸ Those who left, commented the *Register*, were disloyal to their section and nation since their efforts would be required to turn back the radical onslaughts.

When Major H. H. Slough was removed from the office of mayor of Mobile in 1865 against the wishes of Governor Lewis Parsons, the position was given to Forsyth.⁵⁹ General Wager Swayne accused Slough of enforcing the laws without due regard for color. Swayne went to Mobile to deliver the commission, but found that Forsyth had gone down Mobile Bay on a pleasure trip. Fearing arrest, Forsyth tried to escape, but was caught and told the good news. Swayne said that Forsyth was a ". . . 'hot Confederate,' a Democrat and would fight, and no one would dare criticize him. He soon had the confidence of white and black."⁶⁰

The war had been a gross mistake, Forsyth believed, and a more important battle had just begun—the contest with the Northern financier. A unified Democratic party organi-

⁵⁷ *Advertiser and Register*, July 22, 1865.

⁵⁸ Diana F. Corbin, *A Life of Matthew Fontaine Maury* (London, 1888), 229-256.

⁵⁹ *Advertiser and Register*, July 22, 1865.

⁶⁰ As quoted in Walter L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (New York, 1905), 430.

zation might in the course of events become the defender and spokesman of Southern interests. Also, a mutual interest between the West and the South was developing, for by 1869 the West had begun to feel the tightening financial tentacles of the East. Hope was held that their combined strength could curb powerful Eastern magnates. But for his failing health Forsyth might have left his editorial post in 1874 to champion the South's cause in the East with an editorship on the New York *Herald*. The offer started rumors about switching sides and, when he embarked on a European tour for rest, the paper issued a statement that he had not taken charge of another journal.

His years as a newspaperman revealed Forsyth as a leader in state and national improvements of all sorts, especially those projects that promised numerous benefits. However, he viewed Rutherford B. Hayes's elevation to the presidency in 1877 as a descent in national character never before reached. It was an effort to buy the support of the South with promises of self-government and Federal offices, he declared.⁶¹

By 1877, however, Forsyth was too worn-out to struggle with Northern adversaries. Bad health nagged him, restricting his journalistic activities. Doctors ordered a long rest. Leaving the paper in the hands of DeLeon, Forsyth embarked on a European tour. He returned somewhat rested, but his recovery was brief. He died on May 2, 1877. His sister, Julia, died within a few hours.⁶²

Fundamentally, Forsyth was a newspaperman, a critic of the local and national scene. As Benjamin F. Riley remarked, his writings were scholarly but somehow charmed the common people. His journalism, although bold, did not secure for him a victorious campaign nor a profitable newspaper.

⁶¹ *Register*, Apr. 19, 1877.

⁶² There is a difference of opinion among the biographical guides as to the date of Forsyth's death. The correct date is May 2, 1877.

As a whole his life did not follow the path of profit. He took the stony ways dictated by his contentious spirit. His short term as minister to Mexico was mostly an interlude which did little more for him than to clarify his own personal views on slavery and expansion. But in so doing he brought on his defeat in the field of diplomacy. His last days were devoted to salvaging the pride of his section and restoring the Union.

Howard Weeden, Artist and Poet

By SARAH HUFF FISK

SHORTLY BEFORE CHRISTMAS, 1898 the Boston publishing firm of D. Appleton & Company released 1,200 copies of a slender book of paintings and poetry, *Shadows on the Wall*, by Howard Weeden.¹ This brief volume, with only thirty pages between its hard covers and selling for \$1.00, became an overnight sensation in the worlds of art and literature. Customers stood in line for it at bookstores; the first edition was spoken for before it left the press. From critics came such lavish words of praise as brilliant, exquisite, and unique.²

Shadows on the Wall contains eleven beautifully executed portraits—all of Negroes, the old-time “quality” Negroes, familiar to the plantations of the South before the Civil War. So vital and moving are these portraits that the kindly, loyal, proud hearts of the old slaves seem fairly to glow in their expressive faces. Each Negro head has its own dialect verse on the page opposite; together, portrait and poem make a truly touching character study. The *New York Times* acclaimed the book “the revelation of a race.” Joel Chandler Harris, originator of “Uncle Remus,” declared its creations “more real than life itself.”³ Southerners saw their memories revived and resurrected on its pages. Others, perhaps less fully

¹ This paper was read at the annual meeting of the Alabama Historical Association, Selma, April 23, 1960.

² The biographical notes on Howard Weeden, in the handwriting of her close friend, Miss Elizabeth Price of Nashville, Tenn., undated and unpagged, are in the Weeden Papers, Huntsville (Ala.) Public Library (hereinafter Price Notes).

³ Introduction to Howard Weeden, *Bandanna Ballads* (New York, 1899), xiii.

appreciative of its message, still marveled at the power and feeling of the brilliant work of this artist-poet, Howard Weeden, a virtual unknown in the world of belles-lettres. Into her home town of Huntsville, Alabama streamed floods of praise and inquiry. Newspapers, magazines, and individuals wanted to know about "Mr. Howard Weeden," as many of them called the new star on the literary horizon.⁴

The artist-poet, however, was not a man. She was a tiny, frail maiden lady of 51 years who wore high-boned collars and gentle curls across her forehead in the fashion of her girlhood. Fame found her shy and sweet, so overawed by her own success that to most inquiries she simply replied:

Requests for facts of interest in my life keep me in a perpetual state of embarrassment, seeing that my life has been so without incident that I find it difficult to gather anything worth repeating.

Happy women have no histories it is said—and perhaps it is because I have been so happy that I have nothing to tell you. I live in the old house in which I was born, here in the loveliest old town in the world, with my friends, my books and my pictures, and this is my history.⁵

The "old house," in which Miss Weeden was born on July 6, 1847 and in which she lived until her death,⁶ was the Weeden family's town house, Aspen Place, at the corner of Gates, Green and Williams streets, two blocks from the Madison County courthouse.⁷

The artist found her ancestry a matter of interest and pride, as evidenced by her frequent references to "a long line of romantic Scottish ancestry which may have lent to tempera-

Price Notes.

Howard Weeden to Miss Arrington, March 16, 1904.

Mary Weeden Bibb, great-niece of Miss Weeden, to Henry B. Chase, president, Huntsville Historical Society, June 20, 1953, on occasion of the nomination of the artist-poet for the Alabama Hall of Fame.

See Howard Weeden's "From an Old Garden" (an unpublished poem in Price Notes).

ment its tinge of old-world sentiment" and to her immediate forefathers as "planters and slave-owners, so I came into the world with southern instincts."⁸

The Scottish ancestry came through her maternal grandfather, David Urguhart, born in County Ross in 1779. The Urguhart family once owned Hilton Castle in the wild mountain country of Cromarty on the border of Loch Ness. David came to America as a young man and settled near Augusta, Georgia, where he became wealthy in land and slaves and built a home which he named "Hilton" after the Scottish castle. He married Catherine Brooks McGehee, born in Prince Edward County, Virginia, a descendant of Lord Brooks. These were Howard Weeden's grandparents. Jane Eliza Brooks Urguhart, their second daughter, was her mother. This lady was first married to James Watkins of Elbert County, Georgia. After his early death she married Dr. William Donalson Weeden, a native of Baltimore who had also lived in Virginia—Miss Weeden described him as "a Virginian."⁹ He had come to Huntsville very early, around 1812, and settled on Weeden's Mountain (now part of the Redstone Arsenal Reservation).¹⁰ When he married Mrs. Watkins some twenty years later, he was a widower with two sons and two daughters.

Over the years Dr. Weeden became very prosperous, acquiring several plantations besides his Weeden Mountain property. It was not until March, 1845, however, that he purchased the house in town from M. C. Betts. Construction of this large square-styled brick residence had been started about 1819, but in 1845 it was still unfinished.¹¹ Dr. Weeden lost no time in completing and occupying the house. He and his second wife now had five children and cared for one son

⁸ Howard Weeden to Sal Marcassen, a New York reporter, Oct. 3, 1900.

⁹ James E. Saunders, *Early Settlers of Alabama* . . . (New Orleans, 1899), 362, 454-455.

¹⁰ Mary Weeden Bibb to Henry B. Chase, June 20, 1953.

¹¹ Robert P. Weeden to Lawrence Cooper, Aug. 5, 1930.

of his first marriage. The slave quarters of the new home housed several adult slaves and about seven children.

This fine new residence was enjoyed only briefly by Dr. Weeden, himself. Late in the fall of 1846, while on a trip to New Orleans to dispose of his cotton crop, he died. His will, filed for probate March 22, 1847 divided \$10,000 and some property among the four children of his first marriage. His second wife and five children received the remainder of his estate: two plantations in Madison County, one in Marshall, the house in Huntsville, and a large plantation west of Buzzard's Creek in Marengo County. Some fifty slaves were located on this last-named plantation.¹²

The five children of Dr. Weeden's second marriage, as named in his will, were Jane Urguhart, Catherine Louisa, William (he also had a son named William by his first marriage), John David, and Henry Vernon. Howard—christened Maria Howard—was not provided for by name, for she was not born until some six months after her father's death.

Howard Weeden grew up in sheltered surroundings of ease and refinement. As the youngest of a large family of fatherless children, and one who was always frail, she surely received much tender care and attention from the household servants as to implant on her young mind a fond relationship, never to be lost.

In this attentive home atmosphere her artistic talent was recognized early. "I cannot remember when I did not draw and paint," she stated.¹³ Even before she was ten years old, she was having instructions in art from William Fyre, listed in *Williams Directory of Huntsville, 1859* as a "Portrait Painter" and widely recognized in the North Alabama area.¹⁴

¹² Madison County Book of Wills, XII, 272; Madison County Deed Book, W, 254 (in Madison County Courthouse, Huntsville, Ala.).

¹³ Birmingham (Ala.) *Age-Herald*, Sept. 16, 1902.

¹⁴ Price Notes.

Though Mr. Fyre surely instructed his little pupil in the dainty copy work popular with young ladies of the day, he may also have inspired her rather unusual interest in drawing faces, figures, and flowers from real life. Of the artist's works surviving from this earliest period is a tiny picture painted on silk, titled "The Sea of Galilee." This painting shows the marvelous quality of her miniature-like work, even at so early an age.¹⁵

Howard was fifteen when the Civil War shattered the comfortable life of the Weeden family. Her three brothers promptly enlisted in the Confederate Army; and as her oldest sister, Jane, Mrs. William T. Reed, was then living in Tuskegee, Alabama, only Mrs. Weeden, Kate, Howard, and the Negro servants were left at home to face the Union forces that seized Huntsville on April 11, 1862.¹⁶

Early in the occupation of the city the Weeden home, being large and conveniently located to the heart of town, was requisitioned by the United States Army. Mrs. Weeden and her daughters were forced to live in the slave quarters. Finally, life became so miserable that they fled, servants and all, to take refuge with Jane in Tuskegee. They remained there for the duration of the war.¹⁷

The Weedens found Tuskegee quiet after their trying experiences in the North Alabama war zone, and they were determined to take up their lives in normal channels. Young Howard was enrolled in the Tuskegee Female Methodist College, which the young president and Methodist minister, Dr. George W. F. Price, had managed to keep going in spite of the war. There she received art instruction in the class of Miss Julia Spear, who found her young pupil, though fragile

¹⁵ Nashville (Tenn.) *Banner*, May, 1912.

¹⁶ Price Notes.

¹⁷ Mrs. William D. Chadick, "Civil War Days in Huntsville, Ala.," *Huntsville Times*, Sept. 11-15, 1955.

and slender in body, possessed of a great desire to learn, ambitious, alert, and willing to work.¹⁸

After the war the Weeden family returned to Huntsville to face a dark and uncertain future. Their properties had been stripped and plundered; their town house was little more than a shell. Nevertheless, they had one great cause for rejoicing: the safe return of all three of Howard's brothers—the two oldest with commissions, William as a captain, John David as colonel.¹⁹

In the midst of these desperate times Mrs. Weeden continued her effort to divide the family properties, now so tragically depleted. In 1866 she deeded the town house to the two unmarried daughters, Kate and Howard.²⁰

Howard was nineteen that year. Her school days, brief and sketchy as they had been, were over, and she turned toward helping the family fortunes. The only way that she was at all equipped to help was through art and literature. Her belief in her abilities in these fields seems to have been firm and vigorous, quite in contrast to her shyness in some other aspects of life. It was this strong belief, coupled with her natural optimism, that set her to work and kept her working for the rest of her life, in the face of innumerable difficulties.

Before examining Miss Weeden's artistic and literary undertakings ("vagaries" or "wild notions" was the way she described most of her efforts), it is only fair to consider some of the difficulties she faced and their probable effect upon her life and work.

The loss of her mother, soon after the war, brought deep sadness to the sensitive, emotional young woman. She and her older sister, Kate, bonded always by deep affection, were left

¹⁸ Price Notes.

¹⁹ Marie B. Owen, *The Story of Alabama* (New York, 1949), II, 272.

²⁰ Madison County Deed Book, EE, 520 (in Madison County Courthouse, Huntsville).

with the problems of the family home. Fortunately, Kate enjoyed household management and willingly undertook most of it.

Certainly, Howard was too frail for much physical labor. Her health was extremely delicate. As she grew older, her inability to throw off infection increased until she finally contracted tuberculosis from which she died. She never yielded to her weak health, however, and in her letters she was seldom "becoming ill" but usually "feeling better" or "getting up after several weeks in bed." However, she had another physical defect, poor eyesight, which probably annoyed her even more than her poor health. The Nashville eye specialist who treated her declared that she had the most extreme case of near-sightedness he had ever encountered.²¹ "My eyes are troubling me again," she mentioned over and over in her letters. Despite the suffering this condition caused her, there is no doubt but that it enriched her painting, enabling her to do the most delicate brush work. Using a brush with only three hairs, she produced a photographic fineness of line in her portraits that is near perfection.

It is hard to examine Miss Weeden's masterpieces and believe that she had such little training in art, so few advantages. Many precious hours were lost to her through the necessity for experimenting in methods and technique. But even this lack of technical knowledge—such a trial to the artist—was at least partly responsible for the charm and originality which glow in her work.

Miss Weeden nourished a life-long desire to travel, to visit the world's great museums, to mingle with people who spoke the language of art and literature. Circumstances denied her these joys and, in so doing, perhaps caused her to choose "from her own backyard" the subject that was to make her famous.

Among the artist's earliest efforts to help the family finances

²¹ Huntsville *Weekly Mercury*, Apr. 19, 1905.

was the holding of art classes for little girls. These groups met in the Weeden's back parlor, off and on for a number of years.²² Mrs. Ben Matthews, one of the pupils, recalled that their teacher, in her sweet gentle way, used to touch up their wooden little drawings and admonish them—if they made a smudge, "just to paint a butterfly over it," as she had put butterflies over many things in her own life, making beauty out of smudges.

One of Miss Weeden's first literary undertakings, begun in the years between girlhood and womanhood, was the writing of short stories and little poems. These were frequently published in the *Christian Observer*, a Presbyterian paper (the Weedens were Presbyterians). Instead of her own name, the author used the pseudonym "Flake White."²³

A type of art work that Miss Weeden found generally saleable was hand-painted cards for special occasions. On many of these she painted flowers for she loved flowers and the outdoors. One spring she went day after day to the mountainside, until she had completed paintings of 208 varieties of wild flowers in their natural setting.²⁴

Perhaps the artist's favorite occupation was "illuminating poems." This, she declared, gave her "unending pleasure because it had a literary flavor." Her method was to copy short poems in her delicate printing, illustrate them in water colors, and bind the sheets in decorated covers. It was this work that led directly to one of her earliest, possibly her very first, painting of a Negro portrait. She described the attempt thus:

In looking about for poems for my purpose, short and pointed, I stumbled one day upon that beautiful 'De Massa ob de Sheepfol,' which I still think the best negro poem that has been written. I

²² Price Notes.

²³ See "A Christmas Card," *Christian Observer*, Dec., 1885 (unpaged clipping in Price Notes).

²⁴ Elizabeth H. Chapman, "Huntsville Life in the 'Gay 90's,'" *Huntsville Times*, Nov. 4, 1934.

transcribed it and illustrated it in water colors with pastures and sheep galore and then in afterthought, to indicate that it was a negro poem, put on the cover an old negro head.

"De Massa ob de Sheepfol' " was written by Sarah Pratt McLean Greene and first published in her *Towhead* in 1884. Miss Weeden's discovery and illumination of this inspirational verse was indeed fortunate, for she showed it to some visitors of much travel and culture, who happened to be in Huntsville, and their comment was truly a guidepost on the road of success for the artist. "Your negro head is so good," they said, "that you should throw away all your colors except brown!"²⁵

From then on most of the artist's brushes *were* "dipped in brown," as she painted one Negro head after the other. Many years later she said:

There was a time when I painted everything indiscriminately, like a misled amateur, until I woke one day to the fact that there was right around me a subject of supreme artistic interest, the old southern ex-slave, who with his black weather-beaten face and picturesque figure was rapidly slipping away. Once comprehended, the subject was one to absorb anybody who could use a brush loaded with Brown Madder.²⁶

Most of her friends and neighbors had a beloved old mammy, cook, or coachman, whose picture they wanted Miss Howard to paint. As her delicate brush strokes committed to paper the likeness, the very character of the old Negroes—many of whom the artist had known since childhood—she liked to talk to them. Their native sense of humor, patience in misfortune, courage and philosophic acceptance of life impressed her deeply. Their words stayed in her mind until they became verses: "Too Late," "Beaten Biscuit," "The Old Boatman," and "Mother and Mammy" were written in that order.

²⁵ Howard Weeden to Sal Marcassen, Oct. 3, 1900.

²⁶ Howard Weeden to Miss Arrington, March 16, 1904.

As the months and years passed, these Negro heads and verses accumulated in a portfolio, much admired by visitors.²⁷ Some of the paintings were framed and added to the gallery of the artist's work that literally lined the parlor walls. Occasionally, the artist copied one of the heads for someone, charging no more than \$3.00, often less.²⁸

In September, 1893 Howard Weeden accompanied some Huntsville friends on a visit to the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, where she had a modest exhibit, some illustrations from *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.²⁹ While there, she saw the work of two other artists who painted Negroes: Kemble, creator of "Kemble's Coons," and A. B. Frost, illustrator of the "Uncle Remus" stories. Both of these men portrayed their subjects in the comical "minstrel show" manner then generally accepted for depicting Negroes. Miss Weeden must have realized that her own sincere, sympathetic studies were superior in every way, for she returned home full of enthusiasm, anxious to get to work on a number of orders she had received in Chicago, and concerned about copyright privileges. Her remarks on this latter subject are characteristic of her wit and humor:

I have been thinking I ought to have my booklets of negro heads and verses copyrighted, but the two copies each, required, is too much. I wrote the Librarian of Congress and asked him if it would protect me at all to copyright the *words* simply, and he again sent me the same old printed forms—like a deaf-mute, which answered every question alike. When we women get to holding office, we won't need printed forms, as Mrs. Pryor said, 'Thank God, we can always find words for what we need to say!'³⁰

When Howard Weeden wrote those words, she obviously did not dream that her paintings and poems would ever be

²⁷ Howard Weeden to Sal Marcassen, Oct. 3, 1900.

²⁸ Howard Weeden to Elizabeth Price, Oct. 7, 1894.

²⁹ Huntsville *Weekly Democrat*, Sept. 20, 1893.

³⁰ Howard Weeden to Elizabeth Price, [Sept. 7], 1893.

copyrighted through publication in book form. Had she dreamed such a dream, it would have been a pleasant one, for she loved books and much of her inspiration came from them. Especially was she impressed by a group of Southern writers: Thomas Nelson Page, Harry Stillwell Edwards, John Trotwood Moore, James Lane Allen, and Joel Chandler Harris—all prominent in the late 1800's for their sympathetic stories of plantation days. Their stories, such as "Meh Lady" and "Unc Edinburg's Drowndin'" from Page's *In Ole Virginia*, inspired many of her paintings.³¹

Eventually, Miss Weeden's work led her to correspond with and to meet most of these famous writers. Several of the meetings were arranged by the Huntsville artist's close friend, Miss Elizabeth Price of Nashville.

Miss Price was the daughter of Dr. George W. F. Price, who had been president of the Tuskegee College when Howard Weeden attended there and who later was the fourth president of the Huntsville Female College. Elizabeth Price was a small girl in Huntsville when she first met the artist. Despite the difference of some twenty years in their ages, a fond friendship developed and grew—even after the Price's moved to Nashville in 1880, where Dr. Price founded the Nashville College for Young Ladies.

By the time she was in her early twenties Elizabeth Price was probably Miss Weeden's most ardent spokesman. The walls of her Nashville music studio displayed a number of paintings the artist had given her: she loved to show these to the prominent people who visited her father's school. She often sold paintings, arranged orders, and always—in her bright vivacious way—gave much-needed love and encouragement to the artist.³²

³¹ Price Notes; Howard Weeden to Elizabeth Price, June 25, 1897, Apr. 30, May 8, 1898.

³² Interview with Elizabeth Price, Sept., 1956.

In 1895 Miss Price went to Germany to study music. She took with her seven of Miss Weeden's best Negro heads and in April, 1896 placed these on exhibit in Berlin's most fashionable picture bazaar, the Gallery of Edward Schulte. They were enthusiastically received. Miss Price wrote glowing reports of this exhibit to the Tennessee and Alabama papers and forwarded the artist an avalanche of orders.³³ Miss Weeden was quite overcome—"sore and tender and feel like crying" was the way she expressed herself to her distant benefactor.³⁴

The fame which the artist's work brought her in Berlin and later in Paris, through her dear friend's efforts, was, however, only a dim foretaste of that which she was to attain through the kindness of a gentleman she scarcely knew. William O. Allison, a New Yorker visiting in Huntsville, was so impressed by the artist-poet's brilliant work that he asked to take the paintings and poems back to New York and publish them in book form.³⁵ At long last the portfolio of masterpieces was to be opened for the world to admire.

The artist's joy in the publication of her work was marred by one disappointment. Efforts to make color plates from her paintings proved unsuccessful; the rich brown tones of her portraits had to be reproduced in black and white. But even in this simple dress, the paintings glittered like diamonds, drawing the attention of art lovers everywhere to the unknown genius from the South. "In a moment," Howard Weeden declared later, "I seemed to stand in a flood of light and love and letters—such letters! One enthusiastic writer ((distant and unknown) sent me a hundred dollars in honor of the first copy she had just bought—and all kinds of beautiful things happened."³⁶

³³ Huntsville *Weekly Mercury*, Apr. 22, 1896.

³⁴ Howard Weeden to Elizabeth Price, Apr. 22, 1896.

³⁵ Howard Weeden to Sal Marcassen, Oct. 3, 1900.

³⁶ Howard Weeden to Elizabeth Price, fragment of undated letter.

Sadly enough, there was also one misfortune. The second edition of *Shadows on the Wall* was hardly off the press, when the printing plant burned, destroying the plates of the book.³⁷ Though this was a real financial loss to Miss Weeden, it undoubtedly hastened the passing of her work from the semi-private circulation under Mr. Allison's sponsorship to the hands of a regular publishing firm.

Doubleday, McClure & Company undertook the next edition, in 1899, titled *Bandanna Ballads* and containing the works in the original book merged with eight new paintings and poems. This new edition was graced with a flattering foreword by Joel Chandler Harris, who had requested the privilege of thus praising an unknown artist and poet, "who," he declared, "has surpassed us all!"

With publication of her work, the life of the frail artist fell into an almost frantic tempo. Demands for her paintings came from everywhere. The Nashville Art Club and other groups tendered receptions in her honor.³⁸ The well-known composer, Sidney Homer, set several of her poems to music.³⁹ She was urged to prepare paintings for various exhibitions. There were letters to be answered, unfamiliar business matters relating to her books, and, in the midst of everything, more material to be prepared for publication.

Under great stress, her health rapidly failing, Miss Weeden managed to complete two more volumes, *Songs of the Old South*, published in 1901, and *Old Voices*, her most elaborate book, in 1904.⁴⁰

Howard Weeden died April 12, 1905. Her passing at the very height of her career shocked the literary world and sad-

³⁷ Elizabeth H. Chapman, "Huntsville Life in the 'Gay '90's,'" *Huntsville Times*, Nov. 4, 1934.

³⁸ *Huntsville Weekly Mercury*, Apr. 19, 1905.

³⁹ *Nashville Banner*, Dec. 10, 1933.

⁴⁰ *Nashville (Tenn.) American*, July, 1904.

thened her many friends who knew her as a tender lovable woman, as well as a famous artist and poet. Immediate survivors were her sisters, Miss Kate Weeden, at home, and Mrs. William T. Reed, Mobile; and brothers, Col. John D. Weeden, Florence, and Dr. Henry V. Weeden, Selma.⁴¹

In May, 1910 the Huntsville chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution marked the Weeden home with a bronze plaque.⁴² This tribute still identifies the house, only slightly changed from the days when Miss Howard sat before her easel in the big east front room, painstakingly creating the masterpieces that were to become the most beautiful and unique of all memorials to the Negro slave of the Old South.

Miss Weeden's original works are now widely scattered. A few of her heads are prized by Huntsville families. Until her death in 1958 Miss Elizabeth Price, possessor of the largest of all collections, traveled widely, displaying her treasured paintings and recalling memories of the great artist.⁴³

It was through the interest of Miss Price and the efforts of the Huntsville Culture Club that the City of Huntsville became, in June, 1959, the proud possessor of a group of original Weeden paintings. The works, representing the entire collection of the Nashville Museum of Art, were a priceless gift from that institution to the artist's home town. They were placed on display at the city-owned Burritt Museum atop Monte Sano, where they are marveled at by a generation scarcely more familiar with the name "Howard Weeden" than was the generation that acclaimed her in 1898.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Huntsville *Weekly Mercury*, Apr. 12, 1905.

⁴² Huntsville *Times*, May 20, 1910.

⁴³ Bedford County *Times* (Shelbyville, Tenn.), Sept. 18, 1936.

⁴⁴ Huntsville *Times*, June 14, 1959.

Notes and Documents

HIGHWAY MARKERS IN ALABAMA

(Continued from January issue)

By RUCKER AGEE

ALBERT S. JOHNSTON

General, CSA

March 9-20, 1862

In a dash to repel invasion/of Mississippi Valley/he led Army of Tennessee/across the river here./While here he planned campaign/for the Battle of Shiloh.

(Limestone County, U.S. Highway 31)

GEN. N. B. FORREST, C.S.A.

North Alabama Raid

September 23-30, 1864

Hemmed in by superior forces/Forrest's fast-moving cavalry,/raided and destroyed Union/supply lines and strong points,/captured 2,360 men, valuable stores./By swift action, surprise and bluff/Forrest disrupted Union military/plans from Decatur to Columbia.

(Limestone County, U.S. Highway 31)

SYLACAUGA

Settled in 1748 by Shawnee

Indians from Ohio

They joined Creek Confederacy,/fought against U.S. in War of 1812,/were moved west in 1836./Settled before 1836 by men/who had fought in this area/under Andrew Jackson./Indian name: Syllacogga or Chalakagay.

(Talladega County, U.S. Highway 231 E)

FAYETTEVILLE

8 miles

Here in 1814 Tennessee Troops/joined Andrew Jackson's force/which

won the Creek Indian War./After Indian removal in 1836/these veterans brought their families/here, named this community for/their old home in Tennessee./Fayetteville Academy was built in 1850.

(Talladega County, U.S. Highway 231 W)

FORT MITCHELL

5 miles

Built during Creek War/1813 by Georgia Militia/on main Indian trade route/to Tombigbee River/U. S. troops stationed here/until 1837/1836 Lower Creeks corralled here/for forced removal to the West.

(Russell County, Ala. Highway 165)

WILLIAM WYATT BIBB

1781-1820

First governor of Alabama

Buried 2 miles east

Only governor of Alabama Territory/1817-1819/First governor of state 1819-1820./Died in office after riding accident./Succeeded by brother, Thomas Bibb.

(Elmore County, Ala. Highway 14)

WILLIAM WYATT BIBB

grave 300 yards

First governor of Alabama/1819-1820./Only governor of Alabama Territory/1817-1819./Born in Amelia County, Va., Oct. 2, 1781./In U.S. Congress from Georgia 1805-1813./Moved here from Elbert County, Ga., 1817./Buried in private cemetery near home./Succeeded by brother, Thomas Bibb,/presiding officer of state senate.

(Elmore County, Ala. Highway 14)

TALLASSEEHATCHEE

Creek Indian War 1813-14

Nov. 3, 1813

Gen. John Coffee commanding/900 Tennessee Volunteers,/surrounded Indians nearby;/killed some 200 warriors./This was first American victory./It avenged earlier massacre/of 517 at Ft. Mims by Indians.

(Calhoun County, U.S. Highway 431)

KIMBELL-JAMES MASSACRE

1/2 mile

Sept. 1, 1813/Creek Indian War, 1813-14./Part of War of 1812./British

used Pensacola as base/to arm, incite Indians against U. S./Prophet Francis led Indians/in this raid on Kimbell home./They killed and scalped 12 of 14/ (two survivors left for dead);/pillaged house, killed livestock.

(Clarke County, U.S. Highway 84)

CLAIRMONT SPRINGS

formerly Jenkins Springs

3 miles

A 19th century watering place,/mineral springs resort./1832—ceded to U. S. by Creek Indians/before being moved to West in 1836./1841—bought by William P. Chilton,/later Chief Justice of Alabama./1873—bought by John T. Morgan,/general in CSA, long a U. S. Senator.

(Clay County, Ala. Highway 77)

MARIA FORGE

Built in 1842

½ mile

Here Riddle Brothers operated/first and largest forge/in Talladega Creek Valley./They made bar iron to supply/plows, horseshoes, nails,/other wrought-iron products/to early settlers of area./Indians had been forced from area in 1836.

(Talladega County, Ala. Highway 77)

HOBODY'S BRIDGE

Last Indian Battle in Alabama

4 miles

General Wm. Wellborn and his men/attacked and routed/300 Indians camping here/during Creek War of 1836./Indians, reluctant to move west,/angered by whites seizing land,/had plundered as they moved/toward new homes in Florida.

(Pike County, U.S. Highway 29)

MONTICELLO

Became county seat/of Pike County in 1827/County seat moved to Troy,/a more central location, in 1838./Pike County was created in 1821/from lands ceded by Creek Indians/in Treaty of Ft. Jackson, 1814.

(Pike County, Ala. Highway 15)

LINE 32° 28' NORTH LATITUDE

Northern Boundary of:/British W. Florida 1764-83/Spanish W. Florida 1783-95/Mississippi Territory, 1798-1804/Washington County 1800-12/Clarke County 1812-15/Southern Boundary of:/British Illinois 1764-83/United States 1783-95/Line fixed in 1764 by British king across present Alabama-Mississippi./France had ceded area to Britain in 1763.

(Lee County, U.S. Highway 431)

LINE 32° 28' NORTH LATITUDE

Same text as above

(Autauga County, U.S. Highway 82)

LINE 32° 28' NORTH LATITUDE

Same text as above

(Sumter County, U.S. Highway 11)

BRITISH WEST FLORIDA, 1764-83

Colony's north boundary/crossed present-day/Alabama-Mississippi/at this point on 32° 28'/by edict of British king./Colony extended south to Gulf./France had ceded area in 1763./Spain invaded, seized area in 1780./Britain ceded it to Spain in 1783./Spain ceded part to U.S. in 1795.

(Autauga County, Ala. Highway 14)

SPANISH WEST FLORIDA

Spain seized colony, 1780,/from British during/American Revolution./Ceded to Spain in 1783./32° 28', northern boundary, crossed/present Alabama-Mississippi here./Colony extended south to Gulf,/from Georgia to Mississippi River./In 1795 Spain ceded area to U. S./but kept Mobile and Pensacola.

(Greene County, U.S. Highway 80)

MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY

Northern boundary here/at 32° 28'./From Georgia line/to Mississippi River,/territory extended south/to 31°, present Florida line./Created by Congress in 1798./1802 Georgia gave up claim./1804 Enlarged north to Tennessee./1817 Alabama Territory created./1819 Alabama became 22nd state.

(Macon County, U.S. Highway 29)

WASHINGTON COUNTY

First county in Alabama/Northern boundary 32° 28',/ran through this point./County extended south/to 31°, present Florida line;/ from Jackson, Miss., to Columbus, Ga./Then in Mississippi Territory,/it included 25,000 square miles./Since subdivided into counties:/29 in Alabama, 16 in Mississippi.

(Elmore County, U.S. Highway 231)

THE ALABAMA BAPTIST STATE CONVENTION

October 28-29, 1823

was founded here at Salem Church/by 15 messengers from seven/mis-
sionary societies./They met to promote missions,/education and closer
cooperation/among Baptist churches of Alabama.

(Hale County, Ala. Highway 14)

INDIAN MOUND

500 yards

Largest in Tennessee Valley./It stands 42 feet high;/served as base for
temple./Built by unknown Indians/who lived here long before/
Columbus discovered America./Builders perhaps related to Indians/
who built mounds at Moundville.

(Lauderdale County, U.S. Highway 72)

FT. MIMS MASSACRE

2½ miles

Creek Indian War, 1813-14/Most brutal massacre/in American his-
tory./Creek Indians stormed/the fort, slew inhabitants./Of some 550
in Ft. Mims,/about 36 survived.

(Baldwin County)

FORT MIMS

500 yards

Here in Creek Indian War 1813-14/took place most brutal massacre/
in American history./Indians took fort with heavy loss,/then killed all
but about 36/of some 550 in the fort./Creeks had been armed by Brit-
ish/at Pensacola in this phase/of War of 1812.

(Baldwin County, Ala. Highway 59)

FLORENCE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE

Oldest state-supported/teachers college south of Ohio R./1830—

opened as LaGrange College/ (Methodist) at nearby Leighton./First chartered college in state./1855—moved here and re-named/Florence Wesleyan University./Flourished until closed by war in 1865./1872—Reopened to State by church;/became Florence State Normal School./1926—present name adopted.

(Lauderdale County, Ala. Highway 17)

BIRMINGHAM-SOUTHERN COLLEGE

Created in 1918 on this site/by merger of two colleges:/Southern University/a Methodist college/founded in 1856 at Greensboro./Birmingham College/founded by Methodists as/N. Alabama Conference College/on this site in 1898.

(Jefferson County on College Campus in Birmingham)

THREE NOTCH ROAD

Built by U. S. Army, 1824,/from Ft. Barrancas, at Pensacola/to Ft. Bainbridge, S. E. of Tuskegee./Here it joined Federal road leading to/Ft. Mitchell in Russell County./Road followed Indian trade trail/became main road for settlers/and traders before railroads./Scouts notched trees to mark/route that ran along this ridge.

(Pike County, Ala. Highway 21)

Site of GREEN ACADEMY

Chartered in 1812./Leading educational institution./Long prominent in training/leaders of North Alabama./Occupied by Federal troops, 1862./Buildings burned, 1864./Site of city schools since 1882./Location used only for school purposes.

(Madison County, City Street in Huntsville)

Tuscumbia Railway FIRST RAILROAD west of Alleghenies

1832—begun here; completed to/Decatur, 45 miles east, in 1834./Cotton shipped by this line around/nearby Muscle Shoals, then by boat down/Tennessee-Mississippi R. to world markets./1851—expanded to/Memphis-Charleston RR/A vital line in Civil War,/it changed hands several times./1898—became part of Southern Railway.

(Colbert County, U.S. Highway 43 & 72)

ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH
(EPISCOPAL)
PRAIRIEVILLE

1834—Organized as mission by/Rev. Caleb S. Ives for settlers/coming here to the Canebrake/from Atlantic Seaboard/1844—made parish of/Diocese of Alabama/1851—this site selected/1853-54—this building erected.

(Marengo County, U.S. Highway 80)

JOHN HORACE FORNEY
1829-1902

Major General, C.S.A.

Graduate of West Point,/resigned from U. S. Army/to volunteer services/to State of Alabama/Ably led Confederate forces/at Manassas, Pensacola,/Vicksburg, Mobile, Texas.

(Calhoun County, Ala. Highway 21)

ATHENS COLLEGE
a liberal arts college

1822/Athens Female Academy/founded by patriotic citizens/1843/Raised to college level/under Methodist patronage/First college building./Founders Hall (1842-3),/still used for classes/Unbroken service since 1822.

(Limestone County, U.S. Highway 31)

HUNTINGDON COLLEGE
a liberal arts college

1854—founded by citizen group as/Tuskegee Female College/1872—acquired by Methodist Church:/Alabama Conference Female College/1909—moved to this site as/Woman's College of Alabama/1935—named Huntingdon for/Countess of Huntingdon, Wesleyan leader/1946—became co-educational.

(Montgomery County, U.S. Highway 231)

A County Older Than The State
LIMESTONE COUNTY

created Feb. 6, 1818/by Alabama Territorial Legislature/from lands ceded by Cherokee Nation 1806/and by Chickasaw Nation in 1816./Named for creek (and its limestone bed)/which runs through county./Few settlers here until Indian treaties./Athens became county

seat in 1818./Limestone was first Alabama county/to be occupied by Federal troops/during the Civil War.

(Limestone County Courthouse)

A County Older Than The State

MARENGO COUNTY

created Feb. 7, 1818/by Alabama Territorial Legislature./from lands ceded by Choctaw Indian Nation./Named for Marengo, Italy, where Napoleon/won victory over Austrians in 1800./After Napoleon's defeat, some of his exiled/officials came here in 1817 in vain attempt/to establish Vine & Olive Colony./County seat, Linden, surveyed in 1824;/named for Hohenlinden, Bavaria, where/French won another victory over Austrians.

(Marengo County Courthouse)

A County Older Than The State

LAUDERDALE COUNTY

created Feb. 6, 1818/by Alabama Territorial Legislature./ (Alabama became a state in 1819)/Named for Col. James Lauderdale,/cavalryman under Gen. John Coffee/and Andrew Jackson, War of 1812;/Killed in battle of New Orleans./Coffee planned Florence, the county seat./Jackson, President Madison owned lots.

(Lauderdale County Courthouse)

A County Older Than The State

BLOUNT COUNTY

created Feb. 7, 1818/by Alabama Territorial Legislature./from lands ceded by Creek Indian Nation./Named for Tennessee Governor W. G. Blount/who sent militia under Andrew Jackson/to punish Creeks for Ft. Mims massacre./Jackson fought and won Creek War./Creeks gave up half of their lands/by Treaty of Ft. Jackson, 1814./Some of Jackson's men were first settlers./County seat moved here in 1889.

(Blount County Courthouse)

BLOUNTSVILLE

1820-1889 seat of Blount County,/a county older than the State./Named for Tennessee Governor W. G. Blount/who sent Andrew Jackson to aid Alabama/settlers in Creek Indian War, 1812-1814./Indian Chief Bear Meat lived here/at crossing of old Indian trading paths./1816—Tennesseans began trading post here/and called village Bear

Meat Cabin./1820—name changed to Blountsville/and made county seat./1889—County seat moved to Oneonta.

(Blount County, U.S. Highway 231)

Jacksonville

FIRST COUNTY SEAT

Calhoun County, 1833-99

Town first called Drayton./Renamed in 1834 to honor/President Andrew Jackson./Seat moved to Anniston in 1899./Calhoun Co. originally was Benton Co.,/named for Col. T. H. Benton, Creek War officer,/later U. S. Senator from Missouri./Renamed in 1858 for John C. Calhoun,/Champion of South in U. S. Senate./Benton's views by then unpopular in South.

SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY

Founded here in 1856/by the Methodist Church/Weathered War and Reconstruction/to prosper in late 1800's./Moved to Birmingham in 1918/on merger with Birmingham College,/founded in 1898 by Methodists,/to become Birmingham-Southern College.

(Hale County, Ala. Highway 14)

ST. PAUL'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH

This parish established 1830/Third oldest in Alabama diocese./Church consecrated in 1843 by/Leonidas Polk, Bishop of Louisiana,/ (later a Confederate general)./Here Nicholas H. Cobbs was chosen/first Bishop of Alabama in 1844./First vestrymen: Dr. Richard E. Meade,/Dr. R. C. Randolph, Dr. R. W. Withers, J. Bell,/J. B. Stickney, Dr. R. Inge, Frank Inge,/William Murphy, Col. Samuel Pickens.

(Hale County, in Greensboro)

A County Older Than The State

GREENE COUNTY

Named for Revolutionary hero, General Nathaniel Greene,/who drove British from Southeast./Area explored by DeSoto, 1540./Claimed as French Louisiana, 1699./Ceded to England, 1763./Ceded by Choctaw Nation, 1816./Made a territorial county, 1819./Eutaw, county seat, is named/for Greene's victory at/Eutaw Springs, South Carolina.

(Greene County Courthouse)

LADIGA CAVALRY SKIRMISH

October 28, 1864

Last fighting between armies/of Hood and Sherman./Here Ferguson

turned back/Kilpatrick's larger force./These two armies had fought all summer/from Chattanooga to Atlanta, west to here./To split the South, Sherman turned,/led Union forces in March to Sea./Hood withdrew to reoccupy Tennessee,/fighting Battles of Franklin, Nashville.

(Calhoun County, Ala. Highway 21)

JACKSON'S MILITARY ROAD

Built by Andrew Jackson, 1816-20./Shortened by 200 miles the route from Nashville to New Orleans./Provided much-needed road to Gulf for supply wagons and artillery./Built with U. S. funds and troops,/Jackson's road served as model for 11 such roads built in 1820's./This road replaced narrow Indian trails./Lack of supply roads had hindered Jackson in Creek Indian War and campaigns against Spanish Florida, British at New Orleans.

(Franklin County, U.S. Highway 43)

RUHAMA BAPTIST CHURCH

Constituted in 1819/by pioneer settlers/in Territory of Alabama./Oldest Church in Birmingham/Baptist Association./Elder Hosea Holcombe/served as first pastor./First meeting house was log cabin./Present building is on fourth site.

(Jefferson County, Birmingham)

A County Older Than The State

HENRY COUNTY

Created in 1819 by/Alabama Territorial Legislature./Named for Patrick Henry of Virginia,/colonial statesman and orator:/"Give me liberty or give me death."/This area ceded by Creek Indian Nation in 1814 under Treaty of Ft. Jackson./Had been part of Lower Creek Confederacy./Abbeville made county seat in 1833./Abbe an Indian name of nearby creek.

(Henry County Courthouse)

A County Older Than The State

AUTAUGA COUNTY

Created in 1818 by act of/Alabama Territorial Legislature./Autauga Indians lived on creek/from which county takes its name./Autaugas were members of Alibamo tribe./They sent many warriors to resist/Andrew Jackson's invasion in Creek War./County was part of territory

ceded/by Creeks in Treaty of Ft. Jackson, 1814./Prattville county seat since 1868./Earlier: Jackson's Mill, Washington, Kingston.
(Autauga County Courthouse)

A County Older Than The State BALDWIN COUNTY

Third oldest county in Alabama./Created in 1809 while still part/of Mississippi Territory./Named for Abraham Baldwin (1754-1807)/founder of University of Georgia,/delegate to Constitutional Convention,/member of Congress, 1789-1807./County once lay west of Tombigbee River;/after series of boundary changes,/now lies east of Mobile and Alabama Rivers./County seat at Bay Minette since 1901;/earlier at McIntosh Bluff, Blakely, Daphne./ (continued on other side)

BALDWIN COUNTY (Continued from other side)

Long a center of conflicting claims:/by Spain, France and England;/by royal governors of Florida, Louisiana,/Carolina, Georgia, West Florida until/Mississippi Territory formed in 1798/and from it, Alabama Territory in 1817./In struggle for control of Southeast,/many armies have camped in area:/1528—Narvez, Spanish conquistador/1558—DeLuna, Spanish colonizer/1719—Bienville, French colonizer/1780—Galvez, Spanish conqueror/1813—Red Eagle, Indian revolter/1814—Jackson, American defender/1815—Pakenham, British invader/1864—Maury, Confederate defender/1865—Canby, Federal invader.
(Baldwin County Courthouse)

A County Older Than The State JEFFERSON COUNTY

Created by Alabama Territorial Legislature/in 1819 from land of Creek Indian Nation/ceded in 1814 by Treaty of Ft. Jackson./Named for Thomas Jefferson/1743-1826/author of Declaration of Independence/founder of University of Virginia/third President of the United States./Settled by soldiers who fought in Alabama/with Andrew Jackson in Creek War, 1813-14./County seat at Elyton, 1821 to 1871:/at Birmingham since 1871.

(Jefferson County Courthouse)

A County Older Than The State

LAWRENCE COUNTY

Created by Territorial Legislature/in 1818 from lands ceded by/
Cherokee and Chickasaw Indians/Named for U. S. Navy hero of War
of 1812/Capt. James Lawrence/Fatally wounded, his famous command
was/"Don't Give Up The Ship"/County seat since 1820 has been/at
Moulton which was named for/hero of Creek Indian War, 1813-14.

(Lawrence County Courthouse)

Book Reviews

Alabama Historical Sketches. By Thomas Chalmers McCorvey. Edited by George Burke Johnston. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1960. xiii, 254 pp. \$3.00.

Teachers live mostly sequestered lives, but a few cast long shadows down the years. Such a one was George Long who, in 1825, became the first professor of classical literature at the university which Thomas Jefferson had established at Charlottesville, Virginia. Long had come from England and within a few years he returned to his native land for a long and distinguished career at the University of London. Two of his first students at Charlottesville were roommates from the Shenandoah Valley, Gessner Harrison and Henry Tutwiler, and they were the first to earn the M.A. degree at Jefferson's university. Harrison, though a very young man, succeeded to the chair of his preceptor and later, as chairman of the faculty, was largely responsible for the success of the ex-President's educational experiment. Tutwiler became the first professor of classical languages at the University of Alabama, which was chartered in 1819 and modeled on the Charlottesville institution, but because of the panic which struck the country in that year, did not open its doors until 1831.

Because of disciplinary problems, such as those which beset the early years of the University of Virginia, Dr. Alva Woods resigned his position as president of the University of Alabama in 1837 and all the original faculty, including Tutwiler, retired with him. After seven years of service on the faculty of La Grange College, predecessor of the Alabama State Normal College at Florence, he founded the Greene Springs School for Boys. The remaining thirty-seven years of his active life were devoted to this institution, which was the most famous and successful preparatory school which ever existed in Alabama.

In 1880 Tutwiler's daughter, Nettie, married Col. Thomas C. McCorvey, who at the time was commandant of cadets at the University of Alabama. Eight years later he became the first professor of history and philosophy, which position he held until his retirement in 1923. During his long career he delivered public lectures from time to time, and wrote poetry, historical sketches, and journalistic articles. In 1927 he published *Alabama Historical Poems* and contributed the articles

on Alabama to the twelfth and thirteenth editions of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. In 1932 he died and was interred at Tuscaloosa. He was one of that band of staunch individuals who perpetuated the ideals of the Old South into a generation which was being rapidly overwhelmed by an avalanche of commercialism.

Professor George Burke Johnston, chairman of the History Department at the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and a grandson of McCorvey, has collected his grandfather's historical essays and presented them in the present volume. The title of the first is "Henry Tutwiler and the Influence of the University of Virginia on Education in Alabama." Most of the others deal with striking incidents in Alabama history, and one gives an inside account of the activities of the original Ku Klux Klan. They are valuable as historical documents. Except for the industry of Professor Johnston, they would have been forever buried among forgotten things.

THOMAS PERKINS ABERNETHY
The University of Virginia

The Organization of the Confederate Postoffice Department at Montgomery and A Story of the Thomas Welsh Provisional Stamped Envelope Together with the Activities of the Montgomery Postoffice in the Confederate Period. By Peter A. Brannon. Montgomery, Ala.: Privately Printed, 1960. xi, 166pp. \$6.00.

Mr. Peter A. Brannon, director of the Alabama State Department of Archives and History, has performed a noteworthy service in assembling and publishing in this one volume the many miscellaneous documents which record "some of the incidents which led to the great upheaval in American history, the War Between the States." Among the reprinted pieces in Part I of the volume are the "Joint Resolutions of General Assembly of Alabama in Response to the Resolutions of South Carolina," the Alabama "Ordinance of Secession," and the minutes of the first session of the "Provisional Congress of the Confederate States." Included are also newspaper accounts of the reception and inauguration of President-elect Jefferson Davis and a brief summary of the "Confederate Government in Montgomery." Part II is devoted chiefly to the "Activities of the Confederate Postoffice Department at Montgomery" from February 25 to about June 1, 1861, at which time the central Confederate government was transferred to Richmond. Not the least appealing sections of Mr. Brannon's book

are those dealing with the "T. Welsh Provisionals"—that is, stamped envelopes issued by Montgomery's first Confederate States postmaster, Thomas Welsh—and with other subjects philatelic.

The Organization of the Confederate Postoffice Department . . . is profusely illustrated with pictures of people, places, events, plaques, stamps, and covers. An appendix includes descriptions of the "Flag of the Confederate States," a "List of Officers and Members of the Independent Rifles . . .," the band score for "Dixie," and other miscellany "pertinent to, but not necessarily part of the story of the Montgomery Organization of the Confederate Government."

Mr. Brannon's compilation and brief running narrative, interesting in themselves, will doubtless prove most useful as basic research data for students of the future. As the author observes in his Preface, "Bibliographically, as these citations are intended to be, there is left plenty of room to go further in the search. It is hoped that these will aid in that effort."

For fifty years a member of the Alabama State Department of Archives and History and since 1955 its director, Mr. Brannon is one of the state's best-known and revered citizens. This volume is but another of his many contributions to a wider and better understanding of his native state.

WM. STANLEY HOOLE
University of Alabama

Sipsey Portraits. By Rose Mayer Fies; *The Man with a Light on His Cap.* By Milton H. Fies. Birmingham: Privately printed, 1960. 88 pp.

These are the personal reflections of a man and his wife who grew up with the coal mining industry in Walker County, Alabama. More than that, they are inner thoughts, mellowed with time, of the people with whom they lived in a small mining community named Sipsey on the upper-reaches of the Warrior River.

As a newly-made vice-president of the Maryland Coal and Coke Company, Milton H. Fies and his wife moved to Walker County in 1912 to begin an operation destined to change the face of the eastern half of the county. "When Rose and I moved . . . we transplanted ourselves into the age of the one room log schoolhouse, the circuit riding minister, and a terrible benightedness." Fies describes his new home, his company's operation, and the people who were his associates. It is in this last aspect that his story comes alive.

A fondness for his fellows is revealed throughout his narrative. This feature does not lessen the merit of the work as a contribution to history, however. In its pages the student of history is able to study company "paternalism" which was a dominant characteristic of company villages in the early 1900's. Fies successfully destroys in part the myth of profiteering by explaining the 10 per cent profit ceiling in the company-owned store. "It is far better," he writes, "for management to be accused of paternalism than for management to fail to show normal interest in men and women and their homes and children."

The question,

"What mighty wedge did cleave these hills apart

Gashing to reedy river?"

was posed, then answered by Rose Mayer Fies in the beginning of her portraits of things about Sipsey. She, too, shows the marks made upon her life by these simple people who made up the early Sipsey settlement. Her contribution then was to the general welfare of the men and their families who were connected with her husband's business. Her contribution for us has been made in the commendable lines of her poetry. They reveal a great human spirit moving within the author.

These works make no pretense of being scholarly contributions to the field of knowledge, but they are worthy of the attention of those who are interested in the times and the people of recent history.

RALPH M. TANNER

Birmingham-Southern College

The Alabama Incident. By Kenneth Poolman. London: William Kimber and Co., Ltd., 1958. 203 pp. 21s. (\$3.00).

Kenneth Poolman, author of *Ark Royal*, *Illustrious*, and other narratives of war at sea, has expertly combined fact and fiction to produce *The Alabama Incident*, a fascinating story of the C. S. S. *Alabama* from her launching on May 15, 1862 at Liverpool to her sinking on June 12, 1864 off Cherbourg, France.

Mr. Poolman has based his narrative on the best-known sources—Adm. Raphael Semmes's *Memoirs of Service Afloat* . . . (1869), Lt. Arthur Sinclair's *Two Years on the Alabama* (1895), Lt. John M. Kell's *Recollections of a Naval Life* . . . (1900), Comm. James D. Bul-

loch's *The Secret Service of the Confederate States in Europe* (1884), Thomas J. Scharf's *History of the Confederate States Navy . . .* (1887) and others, including manuscript records in the British Foreign Office. Indeed, *Alabama Incident* contains many direct quotations from these and other works as well as countless other inferences or deductions (mostly unidentified). But unless the reader remains constantly alert, he will be soon carried away by the author's vivid imagination and facile pen, not knowing where truth ends and fancy begins. It is perhaps regretful that Mr. Poolman decided against revealing the wellsprings of his material—the book has no bibliography. Would the inclusion of such cold facts have dimmed the lustre of the C. S. S. *Alabama*, “symbol of the courage and skill of the South's fighting men . . . , the greatest ocean raider of all time”? We doubt it. If anything, *Alabama Incident* whets one's appetite for more information about the Confederate Navy and its many ramifications.

Although romanticized, this book deserves high praise. Mr. Poolman knows his Confederate naval history and he wields a seaworthy pen. (Not since our last reading of *Treasure Island* have we been so completely carried out to sea.) And, equally important, he is a historian who knows how to write. Despite the fact that *Alabama Incident* is primarily leveled for the lay reader, it deserves a place on the shelves of every serious devotee of Confederate naval history.

Alabama Incident is copiously illustrated with photographs copied from originals in the Naval History Division of the United States Navy.

WM. STANLEY HOOLE
University of Alabama

Herbs, Hoecakes and Husbandry: The Daybook of a Planter of the Old South. Edited by Weymouth T. Jordan. *Florida State University Studies*, Number 34. Tallahassee: University Book Store, The Florida State University, 1960. 136 pp. \$3.00.

This small volume, with apt alliterative title, comprises numerous items from “Martin Marshall's Book”—a family daybook of about 450 pages, compiled between 1802 and 1865. Marshall migrated with his family from South Carolina to Fort Claiborne (in present Monroe County, Alabama) in 1815, residing in the town or vicinity as a blacksmith, weaver, farmer and planter until his death in 1865.

The items for the book were meticulously gathered from numerous

sources—family, friends, doctors, slaves, travelers, newspapers, magazines, almanacs, medical journals and books—many of them being thoroughly tested by the trial and error process.

Herbs, Hoecakes and Husbandry contains an explanatory and fully-documented introductory chapter and five subsequent chapters devoted to choice selections from Marshall's book, including household hints; recipes for food, wines, and beer; folk medicine; and farming and veterinary practices. Marshall's volume was an invaluable aid to his family and community, especially at a time when doctors were scarce. Now it constitutes an outstanding informative "source book on Southern folk lore . . . rare for both its authenticity and completeness."

Herbs, Hoecakes and Husbandry is skillfully edited and well printed, with attractive cover and jacket. It contains a brief bibliography and a good index.

A. W. REYNOLDS
Auburn University

James Jackson: Duelist and Militant Statesman, 1757-1806. By William O. Foster, Sr. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1960. 220 pp. \$4.50.

James Jackson was one of the most prominent leaders of Georgia during the Revolutionary War. After serving as a youthful officer in the Georgia forces, he served his state as governor and in both houses of Congress. Much of his later career was associated with denunciation of the Yazoo land scandal.

Professor Foster's biography fills a gap in the early history of Georgia. It will be useful to students, especially those of the Revolution and Early Republic period, but it throws no significant new light on the broad issues with which Jackson was associated between 1775 and 1806. Although the author took ample cognizance of Jackson's pugnacious personality, the presentation could reveal him only dimly through colorless reports or accounts. In short, Jackson never seems to come alive.

Evident care was taken to present a reasonably flawless text and the author labored manfully to make readable an otherwise tiresome account. Perhaps the choice of subject rather than the execution of the job is the chief difficulty with the study.

THOMAS B. ALEXANDER
University of Alabama

News and Notices

THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

FOURTEENTH MEETING

MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, FRIDAY-SATURDAY, APRIL 21-22, 1961

PROGRAM

Friday, April 21

(Sessions at Whitley Hotel)

8:00 Registration

10:00 Opening Assembly—Dr. Gordon T. Chappell, President, Alabama Historical Association, presiding

Invocation—The Rev. Elbert Watson, Pastor, First Church of the Nazarene, Montgomery

Welcome—Hon. Earl D. James, Mayor of Montgomery

Response—William H. Jenkins, Decatur

Appointment of Committees

Announcements—Milo B. Howard, Chairman, Local Arrangements Committee

10:30 Morning Session (A)—Mrs. E. N. Vandegrift, Oneonta, presiding

Confederate Bishops and Federal Generals—The Rev. Emmet Gribbin, Canterbury Episcopal Chapel and Student Center, University of Alabama

LaGrange College—Dr. Virgil B. McCain, Jr., President, Athens College

10:30 Morning Session (B)—Hamner Cobbs, Greensboro, presiding
Senator Tom Heflin, Story Teller and Humorist—Ralph Tanner, Birmingham-Southern College

A Mexican Monarchist Views the American Civil War—Dr. Robert A. Naylor, Auburn University

- 10:30 Morning Session (C)—Mrs. Margaret Pace Farmer, Troy, presiding
The Attempt to Oust Governor Peter Chester from West Florida, 1778-1780—Dr. Lucille Griffith, Alabama College, Montevallo
William L. Yancey, Statesman of Secession—Drs. A. L. Garner and Nathan Stott, Howard College
- 11:30 Afternoon Session (A)—Dr. Frances Roberts, Huntsville, presiding
Popular Confederate Music in Alabama During the Civil War—Howard A. Sadler, Birmingham
Some Beacon Lights in Alabama Medicine in the 1860's—Dr. Emmett B. Carmichael, Medical College of Alabama, Birmingham
- 11:30 Afternoon Session (B)—Dr. Henry King Stanford, President, Birmingham-Southern College, presiding
Alabama Civil War Poets—Benjamin B. Williams, University of Alabama Montgomery Center
The Federal Raid into Southeast Alabama—Allen W. Jones, Furman University, Greenville, S. C.
- 11:30 Afternoon Session (C)—Dr. Paul Irvine, Auburn University, presiding
Navigational Improvement of Muscle Shoals, 1806-1890—Adrian Daniel, Florence State College
The Battle of Mobile Bay—Arthur Owens, Mobile
- 13:00 Historical Tour and Reception
- 7:00 Annual Dinner Session—Whitley Hotel—Dr. Ralph B. Draughon, President, Auburn University, presiding
 Grace—Dr. Leslie S. Wright, President, Howard College
 Presentation of Speaker—Dr. Peter A. Brannon, Director, Department of Archives and History, Montgomery
 Presidential Address—*John Coffee: Early Alabama Planter*, Dr. Gordon T. Chappell
 Early Alabama History in Pictures—Dr. Charles G. Summer-sell, University of Alabama, producer

Saturday, April 22

(Sessions at Huntingdon College)

8:00 Registration

9:30 Opening Assembly—Chapel, Flowers Hall—Dr. Gordon T. Chappell, presiding

Invocation—Rev. Elbert Watson, Pastor, First Church of the Nazarene, Montgomery

Reports of Secretary-Treasurer, Membership Committee, Editor of *The Alabama Review*, Marker Committee, and Pilgrimage Committee

Announcements

10:30 Morning Session (A)—Henri M. Aldridge, Mobile, presiding
A Marshall County Boy Goes to War—Misses Eva Dendy and Ann Ratagick, Waterloo

Senator John Tyler Morgan, E. D. Morel, and the Congo Reform Association—Dr. Joseph O. Baylen, Mississippi State University

10:30 Morning Session (B)—The Rev. Aloysius Plaisance, St. Bernard College, presiding

Peripatetic Newspapers of the South—Dr. Lewis W. Wetzler, University of Alabama

The Organization and Practice of Medicine in the Confederate Army—Dr. W. J. Donald, Director, Bureau of County Health Services, State of Alabama, Montgomery

10:30 Morning Session (C)—T. B. Pearson, Chatom, presiding

The C.S.S. Florida's tour de force at Mobile Bay—Dr. Frank L. Owsley, Jr., Auburn University

The James Mallory Journal, Talladega County, 1834-1877—Edgar A. Stewart, Selma

12:15 Complimentary Luncheon—Huntingdon College—Dr. Hubert Searcy, President, Huntingdon College, presiding

Grace—

Presentation of Speaker—Dr. William Pratt Dale, Howard College

The Adventures of an Archivist—Dr. William D. McCain,
President, Mississippi-Southern College, Hattiesburg, Mis-
sissippi

Report of Time and Place Committee and Resolutions Com-
mittee

Election of Officers

Adjournment

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The Pike County Historical Association was sponsor of an address, March 21 at Troy State College, by Dr. Clement M. Silvestro, di-
rector of the American Association for State and Local History.

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A bibliography of Alabama newspapers is currently being prepared by the librarians of the state as a part of a region-wide attempt to compile a list of all papers published in the Southeast. The work is sponsored by the Association of Southeastern Research Libraries and the Southeastern Library Association. Efforts will be made to record all papers in all libraries, newspaper offices, county courthouses, and privately-owned collections. Mrs. Bonney K. Wetzler of the University of Alabama is editor of the Alabama list and Dr. Wm. Stanley Hoole is a member of the Southeastern Production Committee and chairman of the Southeastern Liaison Committee which is working with other co-operating agencies.

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The Reverend Andrew Capesius, OSB, professor of United States history and sociology at St. Bernard College, died December 17, 1960 at the age of 71. Father Capesius was a member of the Alabama Historical Association and had taught American history, sociology and economics at St. Bernard College for 40 years.

* * *

More than 40,000 pages of historical material related to Alabama, particularly Baptist church records and related newspapers, have recently been microfilmed by Howard College Library, Birmingham. The most recent acquisition has been the papers of the Pickens family, including Israel Pickens, early Alabama governor. Librarian F. Wilbour Helmbold is directing the work, which is jointly sponsored by the Library and the Alabama Baptist Historical Society.

T. Harry Williams is the author of *Americans at War*, "a concise historical survey of the system by which the U. S. government has sought to organize and direct our military forces from Revolutionary War days to the Atomic Age." Of particular interest to readers of the *Review* is the section on the military system of the Confederate States of America. *Americans at War* was issued by Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge (\$3.50).

* * *

Pen and Sword, edited by Herschel Gower and Jack Allen, contains a biography of Colonel Randal McGavock of the Tenth Tennessee Infantry, C.S.A. (who was killed in battle, May 12, 1863) and McGavock's journals kept over a period of fifteen years, 1848-1862. McGavock, a Harvard law student, friend of Madame Octavia Le Vert, and sometime mayor of Nashville, had few equals as a diarist. His journals form "in a very real sense, . . . a study in microcosm of the zenith of development of the Old South, as seen through the eyes of one who made that South courtly, cultured and Vigorous." *Pen and Sword* may be had from the Tennessee Historical Commission, Nashville (\$6.50).

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The Hallie Farmer Memorial Scholarship is being established at Alabama College, Montevallo. A single gift of \$1,000 has been promised, when the fund reaches \$4,000. Contributions should be addressed to Dr. Howard M. Phillips, Montevallo, Alabama.

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The Alabama Library Association's fifty-seventh annual convention is scheduled for April 13-15 at Tuscaloosa. The theme of the meeting is "The Rising South" and speakers include Representative Carl Elliott, Hudson Strode, and Wm. Stanley Hoole.

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Newly elected officers of Pike County Historical Society are Dr. H. E. Sterkx, president; Mrs. Eddie Lee Lancaster, vice president; Mrs. Margaret Pace Farmer, secretary; Miss Eunice Davison, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Myrtle Corley, treasurer; and Miss Elizabeth Hilliard, historian. The Executive Committee is composed of the officers and Miss Mary Lamb and John C. Walters.

